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TOWARD COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE: THE USE OF APOLOGIES
BY BRAZILIAN LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

FOR
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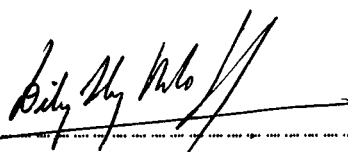
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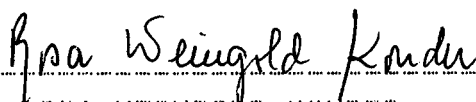
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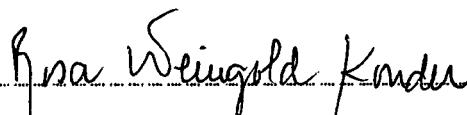


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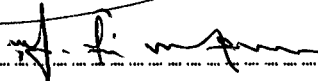
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Ao meu filho Italo,
razão única e espectador inocente
das minhas realizações,
com amor,
por ter sido sempre o maior
estímulo de tudo quanto
busco conquistar.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this dissertation is to identify the difficulties that Brazilian learners of English have in using apologies in the target language. To this end, it presents a contrastive discourse analysis of apologies between American English and Brazilian Portuguese. The strategies used to redress apologetic situations that involve unintentional offences are examined according to the coding framework developed by Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989).

The population analysed consists of 240 university students: eighty American native speakers, eighty Brazilian-Portuguese native speakers, and eighty Brazilian learners of English, who were given four situations in which they had to act as apologisers. Social variables such as the level of familiarity between interactants and their social status were deliberately included in the elicited situations. The personal variables sex and age of the subjects, played an important role in grouping the results for deeper analysis.

An analysis focusing on the speech act of apologising in EFL textbooks used by the learners of English at UFSC is presented in order to help teachers diagnose English learners' difficulties and failures.

The findings of this analysis point to intralingual and interlingual similarities and differences.

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RESUMO

O objetivo desta dissertação é identificar as dificuldades que os aprendizes brasileiros de inglês têm ao usar pedidos de desculpas na língua alvo. Para este fim, esta dissertação apresenta uma análise contrastiva do ato de fala 'pedido de desculpas', entre o inglês americano e o português do Brasil. As estratégias usadas para remediar situações que exigem desculpas e que envolvem ofensas não intencionais, são examinadas de acordo com o modelo desenvolvido por Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper(1989).

A população analisada consiste de 240 estudantes universitários: oitenta americanos falantes nativos, oitenta brasileiros falantes nativos e oitenta brasileiros estudantes de inglês, aos quais foram dadas quatro situações nas quais tiveram que atuar como agentes do pedido de desculpas. Variáveis sociais, tais como nível de familiaridade entre os interlocutores e o status social dos mesmos foram deliberadamente embutidas nas situações formuladas. As variáveis pessoais sexo e faixa etária dos sujeitos exerceram um papel importante para agrupar os resultados de modo a permitir uma análise mais profunda.

Uma análise enfocando o ato de fala 'pedido de desculpas' nos livros-texto, usados por estudantes de inglês na UFSC, é apresentada com a finalidade de auxiliar os professores a diagnosticar dificuldades e falhas dos aprendizes de inglês.

Os resultados desta análise apontam para semelhanças e diferenças intra e interlinguais.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Communicating effectively in a language implies having the ability to interact in a real communicative setting of that specific language. A speech community not only shares rules for speech but also for its interpretation, 'contextual factors such as topic, role of participants, setting, and rules of interaction' are as important as linguistic rules, according to Hymes (1972:54).

The concept of competence has been lengthily discussed and interpreted by several theorists in many different areas of study, such as linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, etc. As a result there are many divergent definitions of what this term actually refers to. It is not my intent to give a detailed account of the literature on this issue, which has been presented by Chomsky (1965), and discussed by Hymes (1972), Greene (1972), Canale (1983), Taylor (1989), among others.

The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985) provides a definition of the concept of competence as used in Generative Transformational Grammar and of the concept of communicative competence as used by Hymes, which I reproduce below and which I find sufficient for the purpose of this study:

Competence - a person's internalized grammar of language. This means a person's ability to create and understand sentences, including sentences they

have never heard before. It also includes a person's knowledge of what are and what are not sentences of a particular language [...] Competence often refers to the **ideal speaker/hearer**, that is an idealized but not a real person who would have a complete knowledge of the whole language.

Communicative competence - the ability not only to apply the grammatical rules of a language in order to form grammatically correct sentences but also to know when and where to use these sentences and to whom. Communicative competence includes:

(a) knowledge of the grammar and vocabulary of the language;

(b) knowledge of rules of speaking (eg knowing how to begin and end conversations, knowing what topics may be talked about in different types of speech events, knowing which address forms should be used with different persons one speaks to and in different situations);

(c) knowing how to use and respond to different types of speech acts, such as requests, apologies, thanks, and invitations;

(d) knowing how to use language appropriately.

The understanding of the notion of communicative competence is essential to EFL learning and teaching. A language learner must acquire the rules for the appropriate use of the target language; aspects other than linguistic ones should be known, since being linguistically accurate does not necessarily mean being able to use language appropriately (Hymes 1972, Owen 1980, Fraser, Rintell and Walters 1981, etc). Language teachers must try to make their teaching closer to real communicative needs.

The idea of helping language learners achieve communicative competence in a sociocultural context with pre-established rules of interaction, different from their own corroborates Thomas's admonition in favor of cross cultural sensitization in foreign

language teaching

Helping students to understand the way pragmatic principles operate in other cultures, encouraging them to look for the different pragmatic or discoursal norms which may underlie national and ethnic stereotyping is to go some way towards eliminating simplistic and ungenerous interpretations of people whose linguistic behaviour is superficially different from their own.
(1983:110)

Cultural differences have been extensively discussed (Owen 1980, Olshtain 1981, Tannen 1984). If we consider the speech act of apologising, we note that although strategies used in the apology speech act set are available across languages, the preference for a specific combination of strategies may be language specific. In other words what can be culturally acceptable in one language may not be appropriate in another. According to Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989:05) 'specific studies of speech acts from a cultural perspective show how clashes between different interactional styles can lead to intercultural miscommunication'.

The present study focuses on a particular communicative function regarded as culture specific, the speech act of apologising. It highlights the ways through which each native speaker of American English and of Brazilian Portuguese performs an apology, taking into account the social as well as the situational variables that strongly affect its use.

1.1 On apologies

In our daily routine we may intentionally or unintentionally offend other people: arriving late for a date, affronting a colleague at a meeting, etc. All the offences presented in this study are unintentional, and even though participants engaged in the conversation may believe that there was no serious harm done such violations should be remedied (cf. Goffman 1967).

The act of apologising is called for after some offence has been committed by the speaker (S) against the hearer (H), that is, when S's behaviour violates social norms. By apologising the speaker recognizes that s/he has violated a social or cultural norm. Apologies are then viewed in this study as intended to set things right and restore the social harmony of an interaction. In order to do this, S has to undertake what Goffman calls *remedial work*. The function of remedial work is defined in Goffman's terms as:

to change the meaning that otherwise might be given to an act, transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable. (1971:139)

Apologies can be seen as a type of remedial work* through which the offender attempts to restore equilibrium between him / her and his/her addressee.

By restoring equilibrium, participants in a conversation cooperate in maintaining their face throughout the interaction.

Face is defined by Goffman as:

the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a

particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes - albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (1971:05)

Brown and Levinson (1978:67) treat face as 'basic wants, which every member knows every other member desires, and [...] it is in the interests of every member to partially satisfy'. They define face as consisting of two aspects: (1) **positive face**, 'the positive consistent self-image [...] including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of', and (2) **negative face**, 'the basic claim to territories [...] freedom of action and freedom of imposition'.

As an attempt to illustrate this classification we should understand that different acts may threaten either S's or H's positive or negative face. For example, when S insults, the act of insulting is a threat to H's positive face, it indicates that S shows negative evaluation towards H's feelings, personal features and/or acts. The insult then should be seen as a face threatening act (FTA). However, if S recognises having done an FTA and decides to apologise, S damages his/her positive face when s/he regrets having violated a social rule (cf. Brown & Levinson 1978)

The act of apologising in an attempt to restore equilibrium implies (1) saving H's positive face, which in turn constitutes (2) a threat to S's positive face; in short, the result is (3)

cost to S and benefit to H. These three aspects are expanded as follows:

1.The act of apologising is directly related to the concept of face preservation.Goffman (1976) says that 'apologies are primarily aimed at maintaining, enhancing, anointing or supporting the addressee's face' (in Holmes 1989:196). When violating a social norm, S threatens the harmony of the interaction and consequently also threatens H's positive face, so s/he can remedy it through an apology meant to lessen the addressee's displeasure thus now saving H's positive face on one hand, and it is a way for S 'getting off the hook and be on [his] way' (Norrick 1978:280), thus also saving S's positive face, on the other hand.

2.Apologies are also FTAs since they directly damage S's positive face.When S regrets having committed a prior offence, s/he consequently damages his/her own face to some extent. In sum, when S apologises s/he is both protecting H's face and threatening his/her own face.

3.The realization of an apology indicates that S recognises the need to apologise and often s/he assumes the cost of doing so. The realization of an apology in Leech's terms, 'constitutes a cost to S whereas to H it constitutes a benefit' (1983:157). It is a reverse cost-benefit scale: the more the cost to S, the more the benefit to H.

The following situation illustrates this discussion by showing an American assistant teacher who was evaluating his learners of Spanish in a language laboratory at UCI (University of California Irvine). The students were supposed to listen to a command and perform what was asked them to do. But at a certain point the teacher forgot to include a map for the learners to answer a given question. All the students got puzzled without knowing what to do, the teacher immediately said it was his mistake and they should skip that number and finally reinforced his fault by saying ['It was my mistake, ok?'] (field notes) This passage is an example of H's supportive and also S's self--demeaning face (Edmonson 1981). In other words, the teacher supported H's reaction (benefit to students) and ran the risk of denigrating his image.

1.1.1 The performance of apologies

Empirical studies on apologies have been carried out by several researchers such as Owen 1980, Coulmas 1981, Cohen & Olshtain 1981, Edmonson 1981, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984, Holmes 1988 and 1990. At this point, the aim is to discuss the controversial issue about what kind of utterance can be regarded as an apology.

To start with, apologies belong to the category of expressives** in Searle's classification of illocutionary acts.

Expressives have the 'function of expressing or making known S's psychological attitude towards a state of affairs specified in the propositional content' (1979:15). At this general level, there is no dispute; however, researchers seem to have different points of view about what constitutes or may count as an apology.

Owen (1980:62) says that there is 'no clear boundary between utterances which are apologies and those which are not'. Olshtain & Vollmer (1989) claim that IFIDs (illocutionary force indicating device) and AR (acknowledgment of responsibility) are the two strategies that make up an apology in any situation. Holmes (1990:161) says that any strategy alone may constitute an apology in the appropriate context. She states that '... a wide range of forms can appropriately fit the apology slot in different circumstances'. Owen (ibid) goes on to say that accounts may occasionally be described as apologies. For her,

in giving an account, the offender himself attempts to restore a degree of balance through offering an alternative interpretation of his act. This may not remove entirely the need for remedial work [...] apologies and accounts do frequently occur together in English (p.171).

Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989:05) state that the most explicit realization of an apology is done via an IFID. S can also choose one of the routinized formulaic expression of regret

such as (a) be sorry, apologise, regret, excuse, pardon, etc; (b) there are cases however in which apologies are expressed via a promise of forbearance ['I promise it will never happen again'], for example.

One can conclude that the speech act of apologising can be performed in numerous different ways which in the context of interaction may be regarded as appropriate. Olshtain and Cohen point out that the description of the complete speech act set of apologising 'is an idealized goal which requires considerable research of an ethnographic and sociolinguistic nature' (1983:21).

It is in the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Pattern (CCSARP 1984) project that I have found the systematization of the various ways in which apologies are made. I have, therefore, decided to use it as a model in this study.

1.2 Purpose of the study

The aim of this study is to identify the difficulties Brazilian learners of English have in using apologies in the target language. To this end, the following issues are investigated:

- a. Cultural differences between American English and Brazilian Portuguese choices of apology strategies;
- b. The combination of apology strategies by native speakers of either language;

c. The influence of personal and sociocultural variables (sex, age, social status and social distance) upon the choice of strategies;

d. The incidence of the learners' deviations from the speakers' use of apologies in the target language;

e. The reason why such deviations occur;

f. The correlation of the English learners' formulas with the formulas presented in EFL textbooks;

1.3 *Organization of the dissertation*

This dissertation comprises five chapters and six appendices.

Chapter two describes the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Pattern (CCSARP) project, the method of data collection, and the description of social and situational variables.

Chapter three presents the choices of strategies by American English native (E1) speakers, Brazilian-Portuguese (P1) speakers and English learners (E2), the analysis of the data, a summary with the main cultural differences, and the E1 and P1 archetype of apology strategies.

Chapter four discusses EFL textbooks as regards how apologies are presented and the range of situations where apologies are used. In addition, it examines to what degree and how EFL textbooks cope with the social variables that influence

the realization of this speech act.

In the last chapter, teaching implications are drawn from the cultural aspects raised, an ESL model is presented as a contribution to EFL teaching of apologies, suggestions are made for further research and the main findings are presented.

The apologetic situations upon which the analysis is based appear in appendices I, II, III and IV. Appendix V contains the original instrument for data collection. Appendix VI consists of the profile sheets handed out to respondents.

Notes:

* Goffman 1961 suggests that remedial work is carried out by three main devices: accounts, requests and apologies.

** As distinguished from assertives(statting),directives (ordering), comissives(promising) and declaratives(sentencing).

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter describes first the Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Pattern(CCSARP) project , second the method of data collection (the instrument used for data collection), the subjects, and the procedure for data collection. Finally, the variables that were taken into account in the analysis of the data are analysed.

2.1 The CCSARP project

The CCSARP is a project developed by a team of researchers which aims to set up a data-base for speech act realization across languages. It comprises eight languages: Hebrew (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain), Danish (Faerch & Kasper), British English and Russian (Thomas), American English (Wolfson & Rintell), German (House, Edmonson & Vollmer), Canadian French (Weizman) and Australian English (Ventola). According to Blum-Kulka the CCSARP is a model primarily set up to 'investigate cross-cultural and intralingual variation in two speech acts - Requests and Apologies' (1989:12).

The CCSARP is followed here only as far as apologies are concerned. Some minor adaptations have been made, which will be mentioned where appropriate.

The apology speech act set in the CCSARP consists of the eight strategies described below with their substrategies. The CCSARP coding for strategies is used throughout. It should be mentioned that the lists with the most common strategies and substrategies used in American English and Brazilian Portuguese do not always have a one-to-one correspondence with regard to meaning. The examples of the strategies and their substrategies, if any, are taken from the corpora.

2.1.1 Illocutionary force indicating devices

They are formulaic expressions used by the speaker to make the apology explicit. The CCSARP does not indicate substrategies for this strategy; however, Olshtain and Cohen (1983:22) suggest that this strategy consists of three substrategies, whose classification is adopted hereafter:

<u>American native speakers</u>	<u>Brazilian native speakers</u>
(E1)	(F1)
Substrategies:	
a. <i>Offer of apology</i>	
(E1)	(F1)
I apologise	Desculpe, desculpa, desculpe-me
b. <i>Expression of regret</i>	
(E1)	(F1)
I am sorry, sorry	Sinto muito

c. *Request for forgiveness*

(E1)

(P1)

Excuse me, forgive me

Perdão, Perdoe-me

2.1.2 Acknowledgment of responsibility

It is the recognition of one's fault, which can be divided into Substrategies:

a. *Self-blame* - The speaker explicitly acknowledges his/her own fault.

(E1)

(P1)

My mistake.
It's my fault.

O erro foi meu.
Minha culpa.

b. *Lack of intent* - The speaker explicitly states that it was not his/her intention.

(E1)

(P1)

I didn't mean to.

Não foi minha intenção.

c. *Justify the hearer* - The speaker explicitly states that the hearer is right.

(E1)

(P1)

You're right.

Você tem toda razão.

2.1.3 Explanation or account of the situation

According to Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper(1989:293) , this category 'covers any external (+/- human) mitigating circumstances offered by the speaker'.

(E1)

(P1)

I was held up by the traffic. Eu tive alguns contratempos.

2.1.4 Offer of repair

The speaker tries to make up for the offence by choosing to offer repair.

(E1)

(P1)

I'll bring your dish right Vou providenciar a troca imedia-
away. tamente.

2.1.5 Promise of forbearance

The speaker's sense of guilt is so strong that he feels obliged to promise the act will never occur again.

E1

P1

This won't happen again. Isto não se repetirá.

2.1.6 Concern for hearer

The speaker 'takes explicit cognizance of the hearer's feelings, which he or she may have offended' (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989:291).

(E1)

(P1)

Are you alright? Não precisa ficar chateado.

2.1.7 Admission of facts but not responsibility

The speaker admits the mistake or offence but abstains from taking responsibility for it.

(E1)

(P1)

That's a mistake!

Houve um erro na cozinha.

This strategy also comprises situations in which the need to apologise is rejected.

Substrategies:

a. Denial of responsibility

The speaker denies responsibility for the offence

(E1)

(P1)

It wasn't my fault.

Não foi minha culpa.

b. Blame the hearer

(E1)

(P1)

You deserve it.

Você precisa ser mais profissional.

2.1.8 Distracting from the offence

It is used to 'divert the hearer's attention from his/her own responsibility for the offence' (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989:293-4).

Substrategies:

a. *Appeaser*

The speaker makes compensatory offers.

(E1)

(P1)

And dessert is on the house. Aceite este drink por conta da casa.

b. *Future/task oriented*

The speaker tries to divert the hearer's attention from the offence to what needs to be done next.

(E1)

(P1)

Let's get started.

Vamos dar início a entrevista logo.

2.2 *Method of data collection*

2.2.1 *Instrument*

The instrument used to collect the data in the CCSARP is the Discourse Completion Test (DCT) originally developed by Blum-Bulka (1982). The DCT was designed to elicit the realization of specific acts.

In order to elicit apologies, eight situations are presented that somehow contradict social expectations regarding rules of

behavior and need to be remedied. Each item in the original DCT presents a brief description of the situation ' specifying the setting, the social distance between interlocutors and their status relative to each other, followed by an incomplete dialog'. (Blum-Kulka 1984:193). In this survey, however, only a brief description of the situation, with some adaptations, was given to the respondents who were asked to fill the space left blank with what they would say if it were a real interaction, thereby providing the speech act aimed at. The adaptations made are of two kinds: a simplification of the original situations in the two versions (English and Portuguese) and cultural adjustments in the Portuguese version. According to Blum-Kulka (1984:199), in the process of translation each researcher [is] free to introduce slight cultural and stylistic modifications, as long as the main features of the social context presented by each item [remains] intact.

For example, boeuf à la maison, in situation three (S3) in the corpora, is adapted in Brazilian Portuguese to filet de peixe ao molho de alcaparras.

The eight original apology situations in the DCT are given in Appendix V. A brief sketch of the eight apologetic situations (S1 to S8), the social distance and social dominance that underlie each situation, is given below.

	Soc. Dist.	Soc. Dom.
S1 Professor has not returned student's paper	-	S > H
S2 A staff manager is late	+	S > H
S3 Waiter brings the wrong dish	+	S < H
S4 Student forgot to return professor's book	-	S < H
S5 Driver hits another car	+	S = H
S6 Shopping bag hits a lady on the bus	+	S = H
S7 Worker offends his/her fellow	-	S = H
S8 A student is late for a meeting with classmate	-	S = H

S = speaker; H = hearer

This method has its advantages as well as its shortcomings. It seems that the fundamental point is the representativeness of written responses, because they lack the context of the ongoing verbal interaction of data collected in fieldwork. Beebe (1985), in a paper on refusals, points out that 'DCTs are not natural speech and they do not accurately reflect natural speech or even unselfconscious elicited speech'. She goes on to list drawbacks with regard to:

1. actual wording used in real interpersonal interaction;
2. the range of formulas and strategies used (some like avoidance tend to get left out);
3. the length of response or the number of turns it takes to fulfill the function;
4. the depth of emotion that in turn qualitatively affects the tone, content and form of linguistic performance;
5. the number of repetitions and elaborations that occur; or
6. the actual rate of occurrence of a speech act.

(p.11)

However, many researchers have conducted surveys by means of DCTs - Cohen & Olshtain (1981) and Olshtain & Cohen (1983) on apologies, Eisenstein & Bodman (1984) on expressions of gratitude and Hanes & Wolfson (1983) on complaints. And Beebe (ibid) herself admits that DCTs are also effective means of:

- 1.gathering a large amount of data quickly;
- 2.creating an initial classification of semantic formulas and strategies that will occur in natural speech;
- 3.studying the stereotypical perceived requirements for a socially appropriate(though not always polite) response;
- 4.gaining insight into social and psychological factors that are likely to affect speech act performance; and
- 5.ascertaining the canonical shape of refusals, apologies, partings, etc. in the minds of the speakers of that language. (p.11)

As far as this study is concerned the DCT fits the purpose of the survey by providing the means through which the speech act of apologising can be compared across two languages and cultures. In addition, it can be employed to analyse the use of apologies by Brazilian learners of English.

Like the team of researchers in the CCSARP project, I do not make any claims about the 'universality of the common features found in the ways native speakers realize apologies' (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989:09). The major concern of this study is to show that there are some pragmatic regularities in the two languages examined.

2.2.2 Subjects

The total number of subjects who participated in the present survey were 240 university students (120 female and 120 male).

Eighty (40 male and 40 female) were native American English speakers (E1) enrolled at one of the following universities or colleges: University of California Irvine (UCI), College State University of Fullerton (CSUF), Irvine Valley College (IVC), Fullerton College and University of Southern California (USC). Most subjects were taking Spanish classes, when asked to fill in the apologetic situations. However, their majors were very different, such as Biology, Economics, Social Work, Human Resources, History, Social Ecology, Business, etc.

Eighty (40 male and 40 female) native Brazilian Portuguese speakers (P1) enrolled at Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC) participated as subjects. These students' majors were Administration, Dentistry and Engineering.

The third group with eighty subjects (40 male and 40 female) was composed of speakers of Brazilian Portuguese learning English as a foreign language (E2). They were university students at either intermediate or advanced levels at the Extracurricular courses at UFSC. It is relevant to mention that 51% of these learners had already traveled to or lived in an English speaking country by the time they answered the apologetic situations.

2.2.3 Procedures

The instrument used for data collection differed from the DCT applied in the CCSARP. The data collection procedure was accomplished through two sets with four situations each. Thus, set A comprised S1(sem.paper), S2(manager), S3(waiter), S5 (driver), and set B comprised S4(book), S6(lady), S7 (fellow worker) and S8(classmate) (cf. Appendices I and III). Each subject filled either set A or B, handed out at random. The eight apology situations were divided into two sets because it was thought that eight apologetic situations would be too many for the respondents to cope with willingly. The time allowed for the task was about ten minutes, which was considered enough for the completion to be as spontaneous as possible. In all the groups, the investigator contacted the teacher in advance and was given ten minutes at the end of a class to apply the apology situations, except for the English learners in Brazil, who had twenty minutes to go through them.

Each set of apology situations was preceded by instructions given in the native language of the subjects, the exception again, being the English learners, who, based on the investigator's experience, would be more willing to cooperate if given the whole activity in the target language. To this end, the investigator decided: first, to read the situations aloud, explaining vocabulary, etc., when asked to do so; second, to give

explanations in the students' native language in case of misunderstanding.

In addition to the elicited responses, the informants were asked (1) to provide information concerning their major, sex, age and occupation; (2) whether they were native speakers or not (in the case of E1 and F1 data collection); (3) whether they had traveled to any English speaking country (in the case of learners).

2.3 Variables

The choice of a particular strategy rather than another may depend on social and personal variables. The social distance between interactants (degree of more or less familiarity), the social status of either S and H (S of a higher, equal or lower status than H) are the social parameters that were taken into account in this survey. The personal variables such as sex and age were also taken into account. The aim is, thus, to check to what extent these variables, which were deliberately embedded in the eight apology situations used, influence the choice of strategies.

1. *Social distance* - the level of familiarity between interactants is set at two extremes: strangers (more social distance), on the one hand, and acquaintances (less social

distance) on the other. So, a waiter apologising to a customer may choose a different strategy than if the same waiter had to apologise to a fellow worker. Intimate relationships such as mother/son, wife/husband, brother/sister were found not to be embedded in the apology situations presented in the DCT.

2. *Social status* - Power relations in the eight apology situations vary from lower to higher status. For instance, a professor apologising to a student may do it differently than a professor apologising to another professor, and even differently than a professor apologising to the dean. This is because the power relation that underlies these situations is different. In the first situation, S (professor) has more power than his/her student; in the second, the professor has the same power as the other professor, and in the third, the professor has less power than the dean.

3. *Sex* - Because the sex of the participants was not always mentioned in the situations, only the sex of the apologist is taken into account.

4. *Age* - The age group chosen to be analysed ranges from 19 to 29, since it is believed that informants of different age groups may perceive situational parameters differently and consequently their obligation to apologise may differ across age groups.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS

List of abbreviations

Section 3.1

IFID: Illocutionary force indicating device
AR: Acknowledgment of responsibility
ES: Explanation or account of the situation
OR: Offer of repair
CH: Concern for the hearer
PF: Promise of forbearance
AFNR: Acknowledgment of facts but not responsibility
DO: Distracting from the offence

- S1: A university professor did not finish reading a student's term paper.
S2: A staff manager has kept a student waiting for a job interview because he was called to an unexpected meeting.
S3: The waiter in an expensive restaurant brings fried chicken instead of *boeuf à la maison* to a surprised customer.
S4: A student forgot to bring the professor's book.
S5: A driver in a parking lot backs into another driver's car.
S6: A passenger's shopping bag falls down and hits a lady when the bus driver brakes.
S7: A worker offended another fellow worker during a discussion at work.
S8: A student is late again for a meeting with a classmate.

Section 3.4

A= IFID
B= AR
C= ES
D= OR
E= PF
F= CH
G= AFNR
H= DO

Section 3.8

OA = offer of an apology
ER = expression of regret
RF = request for forgiveness

The analysis of the data is divided into eight sections. The first section presents the choices of the apologetic strategies each group has used to redress the offence in each of the eight situations (Table 1).

The second section presents the situations that received the highest occurrence of each strategy across the three groups (Table 2).

The third section presents male and female preferences in the four major strategies and their substrategies in the E1, P1, and E2 data (Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6).

The fourth section presents the way each group has used the strategies, either in combination or in isolation, as well as sex preferences in the E1, P1, and E2 data (Tables 7 to 24).

The fifth section presents the most common sequence of strategies used by each group (Tables 25 to 29).

The sixth section discusses two variables that seem to have influenced the choice of strategies in the E1 and the P1 data. In addition, it shows how E2 learners coped with these variables.

The seventh section presents how forms of address were used by native speakers of each language, and the learners' use of address forms.

The last section discusses how apologies were intensified in both languages by native speakers and how the learners used intensification.

3.1 *Cultural differences in the choice of strategies*

As it has already been pointed out the realization of apology strategies may be language specific (Olshtain & Cohen 1983, Holmes 1990, Blum-kulka 1982) and that some apologies may be considered appropriate depending on a cultural criterion. It seems, thus, reasonable to assume that what is acceptable in one culture as meaningful remedial work may not be considered so in another culture.

In the light of these considerations, this section looks at the cultural differences shown by native speakers of both languages and how the E2 learners coped with these differences when apologising. Thus, an overview of all the strategies used by all the 40 subjects in each group, at least once in the eight CCSARP situations is given in Table 1. Repetition of strategies will be commented on where appropriate.

Table 1. Choice of strategies by E1, P1 and E2 subjects

		IFID	AR	ES	OR	PF	CH	AFNR	DO
S1	E1	n=31	1	39	19	--	5	--	--
		%77.5	2.5	77.5	47.5	--	12.5	--	--
	P1	n=23	--	39	8	--	7	--	--
		%57.5	--	77.5	20	--	17.5	--	--
	E2	n=27	--	40	12	--	3	--	--
		%67.5	--	100	30	--	7.5	--	--
S2	E1	n=36	2	29	12	--	8	--	7
		%90	5	72.5	30	--	20	--	17.5
	P1	n=30	7	32	2	--	10	--	11
		N=39 %76.9	17.9	82.5	5.1	--	25.6	--	28.2
	E2	n=34	7	33	3	--	10	--	18
		N=39 %87.2	17.9	84.6	7.7	--	25.6	--	46.1
S3	E1	n=34	10	--	31	--	2	12	2
		%85	25	--	77.5	--	15	30	15
	P1	n=36	13	7	32	5	06	15	2
		%90	32.5	17.5	80	12.5	15	37.5	5
	E2	n=32	15	5	26	2	5	13	4
		%80	37.5	12.5	65	5	12.5	32.5	10
S4	E1	n=37	1	36	34	--	3	--	--
		%92.5	2.5	90	85	--	7.5	--	--
	P1	n=24	--	30	26	--	6	--	--
		%60	--	75	65	--	15	--	--
	E2	n=36	4	33	20	2	2	--	1
		%90	10	90	50	5	5	--	2.5
S5	E1	n=28	2	10	23	--	5	--	--
		N=38 %73.7	5.3	26.3	60.5	--	13.1	--	--
	P1	n=17	17	3	30	--	11	5	2
		%42.5	42.5	7.5	75	--	27.5	12.5	5
	E2	n=19	10	13	23	--	10	3	2
		N=34 %55.9	29.4	38.2	67.6	--	29.4	8.8	5.9
S6	E1	n=30	8	2	5	--	29	2	4
		%75	20	5	12.5	--	72.5	5	10
	P1	n=36	11	1	1	--	8	6	11
		%90	27.5	2.5	2.5	--	20	15	27.5
	E2	n=32	13	6	15	3	24	5	1
		%80	32.5	15	37.5	7.5	60	12.5	2.5
S7	E1	n=26	38	5	5	3	12	8	4
		%65	95	12.5	12.5	7.5	30	20	10
	P1	n=23	20	12	5	1	10	12	4
		%57.5	50	30	12.5	2.5	25	30	10
	E2	n=33	35	8	4	3	13	7	2
		%82.5	87.5	20	10	7.5	32.5	17.5	5
S8	E1	n=33	27	9	17	1	7	1	11
		%82.5	67.5	22.5	42.5	2.5	17.5	2.5	27.5
	P1	n=22	16	16	8	1	4	--	10
		N=37 %59.4	43.2	43.2	21.6	2.7	10.8	--	27.1
	E2	n=34	23	24	11	2	6	1	8
		%85	57.5	60	27.5	5	15	2.5	20

N = total of responses analysed for each situation;
n = use of each strategy in the data

This table of strategies used by the E1, P1, and E2 subjects provides a basis:(a) for comparing how speakers from the two cultures chose different strategies depending on the degree of the offence perceived in each situation, and (b) for pointing out E2 speakers' deviations.

Strategy IFID (illocutionary force indicating device) was the most frequently used by the E1 speakers in S4 (book) whereas the P1 speakers used this strategy the most in S3 (waiter) and S6 (lady).

The E1 speakers were also found to acknowledge responsibility more often in S7(worker)and S8(classmate) than the P1 speakers but less often than the P1 speakers in S2 (manager), for instance. If we observe how the strategy ES (explanation of the situation) was used, we note that the P1 speakers tended to use it more than the E1 speakers in S3 (waiter), S7(fellow worker) and S8(classmate) but not in S5 (driver), in which the P1 speakers explained considerably less than the E1 speakers but took responsibility for the damage considerably more. The wide range of IFIDs and accounts in the E1 and P1 data corroborates Wolfson's (1989) claim that some speakers, in an attempt to restore harmony either use an explicit IFID or offer an account for the situation.

Strategy OR (repair) was the one that showed more differences in use across the two groups. It was more used by the E1 speakers in S1 (sem.paper), S2 (manager), S4 (book), S6 (lady)

and S8 (classmate). In S5 (driver), however, the P1 speakers offered more repair than the E1 speakers. In S3 (waiter) and S7 (fellow worker), we find about the same number of this strategy being used by the E1 and P1 speakers.

Strategy CH (concern for the hearer) was also differently used by the E1 and P1 speakers. But a striking difference between the respondents of both languages was the use of this strategy in S6 (lady), in which the E1 speakers showed much more concern than the P1 speakers (72.5% X 20%, respectively).

There were, however, some similarities in the choice of strategies in the two groups of native speakers. For instance, the choice of strategy ES (explanation of the situation) and CH (concern) as a part of the remedial work in S1 (sem. paper) was about the same. The use of an explicit apology by means of an IFID in S3 (waiter) was also similar in both groups.

Having pointed out some differences and similarities in the choice of strategies made by the E1 and P1 subjects, it is interesting to move on to the E2 subjects' choices.

Owing to the limitations of this study, the E2 learners' deviations will be pointed out but not analysed in depth. Error analysis of these deviations would certainly be a valuable and rich area for further research. Thus, the discussion will be limited to the English learners' deviations caused by transfer from L1 to L2, and to the situations in which the English

learners appeared not to be proficient enough to use an expected strategy. It was found that the E2 respondents offered less repair than the E1 speakers in S1 (sem. paper), S2 (manager), and S8 (classmate). These cases seem to be negative transfer from Portuguese since repair was not very often offered by the P1 speakers in the same situations either. However, S3 (waiter) and S6 (lady) showed interesting results: in the former, the E2 learners were less willing than both E1 and P1 speakers to offer repair whereas in the latter, the English learners offered much more repair than both E1 and P1 speakers by saying, for example ['Let me help you'], which does not seem to be appropriate for this specific situation although it is linguistically correct. Olshtain & Cohen provide an explanation for a similar example in their corpus. They suggest that 'there were situations in which E2 respondents may not have been proficient enough in English to readily include the expected semantic formula in their response.' (1983:22).

There were more cases in which the E2 responses did not reflect their own cultural pattern nor that of the target language. For instance, the E2 respondents were found to distract from the offence more often than the E1 and even more than the P1 speakers in S2 (manager). The more common substrategy used for this situation was *future or task oriented* ['Let's start our interview now!']. Another striking difference was the high

frequency of accounts (38.2%) offered by the E2 respondents in S5 (driver) whereas the same strategy occurred 7.5% in the P1 data and 26.3% in the E1 data. With regard to this same strategy, the E2 respondents tended to offer an account in S8(classmate) more than the E1 and P1 speakers. In S4(book), the E2 respondents offered far less repair than the E1 speakers, but this time, their decision was closer to that of the P1 speakers'. As a conclusion, one can say that although the learners were linguistically competent to come up with an account and an expression of apology for this situation, they somehow lacked sociocultural competence to perceive that such an offence did also call for an offer of repair.

Nevertheless, there were situations in which the E2 responses were more similar to those of the E1 than to those of the P1 speakers'. For example, in S8(classmate), the E2 respondents apologised by means of an explicit IFID at a rate similar to that of the E1 speakers', but different from that of the P1 speakers'. Also, in S6 (lady), the E2 respondents showed concern in a way similar to the E1 speakers' but unlike the P1 speakers'. These were two situations in which the English learners were successful in avoiding transfer from the sociocultural patterns of L1 into L2.

3.2 Strategies across situations

The following table provides a summary of the situations with the highest occurrence of each strategy in each of the three groups.

Table 2. Strategies across situations

	E1 speakers	P1 speakers	E2 speakers
IFID	S4	S3 & S6	S4
AR	S7	S7	S7
ES	S1	S1	S1
OR	S4	S3	S3
PF	S7	S3	S7
CH	S6	S5	S6
AFNR	S3	S3	S3
DO	S8	S2 & S6	S2

S1(seminar paper); S2(manager); S3(waiter); S4(book); S5(driver); S6(lady); S7(fellow worker); S8(classmate)

It is worth commenting separately on the strategies IFID, OR, PF, CH, and DO which received different treatment across the three groups.

Illocutionary force indicating device(IFID):

S4(book) was the situation that received the highest occurrence of IFIDs among the E1 speakers and E2 learners whereas S3(waiter) and S6(lady) were the ones that shared the highest instances of IFIDs among the P1 speakers. The explanation for such preferences is given in Section 3.6, which shows the influence of the social variables in the choice of strategies.

Offer of repair(OR):

The E1 speakers offered more repair (85%) in S4(book) whereas the P1 and E2 respondents offered more repair (80% and 65% respectively) in S3(waiter). According to Vollmer and Olshtain (1989:201), '...in both cases [S3 and S4] there is a high level of expectation on the part of the hearer.', which may be due to the lower status of the apologisee.

Promise of forbearance(PF):

This strategy was seldom used by the respondents. Among the E1 speakers, S7(worker) was the situation that had the highest occurrence at a rate of 7.5% ['I'll never do it again']. The P1 speakers, however, used this strategy mostly in S3 (waiter) at a rate of 12.5% ['Isso não ocorrerá novamente']. This strategy was also the one most used by the English learners in S7(worker) and S6(lady), both at a rate of 7.5% ['This won't happen again'].

Concern for the hearer(CH):

Once again, the E1 and E2 respondents had the highest use of this strategy with the same situation, S6(lady), ['Are you alright?'] whereas for the P1 speakers, it was S5(driver) that had the highest occurrence of CH ['Não precisa se preocupar'].

Distracting from the offence(DO):

This strategy was used differently by the E1 and P1 groups. In S8 (classmates), the E1 speakers distracted from the offence, at a rate of 27.5%, by using the substrategy *task-oriented* (S distracts from the offence by saying, for example, ['Let's get started']). In S2(manager), it received the highest frequency by the P1 and E2 respondents (28.20% and 46.15% respectively). In S6(lady), it also showed the highest frequency among the P1 speakers(27.5%), who usually tried to distract from the offence by saying ['Esse trânsito está cada vez pior'].

It is interesting to note that the English learners used strategies IFID in S4, AR in S7, ES in S1, PF in S7, CH in S6 and AFNR in S3 in a way similar to that used by the E1 speakers. This may indicate that these learners have somehow internalised some of the sociocultural rules of the target language.

3.3 Male and female preferences

This section shows how male and female speakers differed when using the IFID strategy and the other three major strategies (ES, AR and OR).

3.3.1 IFID Realizations used by male and female respondents in the three groups

Based on the eight apology situations analysed, I will now

present the apology preferences of the E1, P1 and E2 respondents. The following table shows the occurrences of IFIDs used by all the subjects at least once in each situation.

Table 3 - IFID realizations

AMERICANS		BRAZILIANS		STDS OF ENGLISH	
MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
N=159	N=160	N=157	N=159	N=160	N=153
n=124	n=131	n=107	n=104	n=120	n=127
%78	% 81,9	%68,1	% 65,4	% 75	% 83

N = total of responses analysed

n = use of IFID strategy in the data

It is observed that all the three groups of respondents show rather small differences between male and female preferences. The Portuguese-speaking group (P1) shows that the Brazilian male respondents used 107 IFIDs in 157 situations, equivalent to 68.15%, and the Brazilian female respondents used IFIDs 104 times in 159 situations, equivalent to 65.4%. The E1 data show different results as regards male and female preferences. The female speakers used the IFID strategy more often than the male speakers (81.9% to 78%). In fact, the E1 speakers, if compared with P1 speakers, apologised more often, the average use of IFIDs found in E1 data being 79.9% and in P1 data 66.7%.

Another interesting aspect to be pointed out is the data provided by the learners of English (E2), which definitely differ

from the P1 data. Although both groups (E2 & P1) belong to the same culture and share the same sociolinguistic rules, the learners of English showed that their written performance is closer to that of the E1 speakers' than to that of the P1 speakers'. In other words, the E2 data provided by students of English allow two conclusions: first, like the American speakers' results the female learners used more explicit IFIDs than the male learners (83% to 75%); second, the average of IFID strategies produced by this group is 79%, which is very close to the E1 average. The E2 data might indicate that the E2 learners have somehow learned the social behavior of the target language, either by having lived abroad (51% of the E2 speakers have been at least one month in some English-speaking country) or by having somehow been exposed to such strategies.

3.3.2 *E1, P1 and E2 sex differences in the four major strategies*

An analysis of the distribution of the female and male apology strategies in the four major strategies (illocutionary force indicating device, explanation or account of the situation, acknowledgment of responsibility and offer of repair) and their substrategies, shows the preferences of each sex in the three groups, as indicated in Tables 4, 5 and 6 below.

E1 male and female use of the major strategies

Table 4. Sex differences in the four major strategies in the E1 data

Strategies/substrategies	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
1. IFIDs				
1a. offer of an apology	05	1.6	11	3.4
1b. expression of regret	115	38.1	111	34.6
1c. request for forgiveness	04	1.3	09	2.8
IFID subtotal	124		131	
2. Accounts	62	20.5	69	21.5
3. Acknowledgment of responsibility				
3a. accept blame	39	12.9	40	12.5
3b. lack of intent	07	2.3	07	2.2
AR subtotal	46		47	
4. Offer of repair	70	23.2	74	23
Total	302	100	321	100

n = use of strategies and substrategies in the data

Except for the IFID substrategies, *offer of apology* (I apologise) and *request for forgiveness* (Forgive me), which were significantly more used by the female speakers, *expression of regret* (Sorry and I'm sorry) was significantly more used by the male speakers, if the total of the four major strategies used is observed (302 against 321, respectively). The remaining differences in the E1 data were too small to be considered.

It is known that the verbs apologise, forgive and excuse carry different semantic meanings; yet, intralingual variation was found in the data provided by the native speakers of American English, both male and female, who apparently used

these three formulas interchangeably. However, such variation may be due to the degree of the offence being perceived differently by speakers of the same language. Thus, S3(waiter) can be seen either as a big or as a small offence by speakers of the same culture, and this may be the reason why the same offence has received the three forms: ['I am sorry, please'], ['Excuse me, please'] and ['I apologise for my mix up'].

The analysis of the use of the four major strategies in the E1 data shows that the American-speaking subjects' hierarchy of preference to redress the offence was by means of 1) an explicit IFID, 2) an offer of repair, 3) an account and 4) acknowledgment of responsibility.

Pi male and female use of major strategies

Table 5. Sex differences in the four major strategies in the Pi data

Strategy/Substrategy	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
1. IFIDs				
1.1. Offer of an apology	85	30.0	93	33.1
1.2. Expression of regret	08	2.8	05	1.8
1.3. Request for forgiveness	14	4.9	06	2.1
IFID subtotal	107		104	
2. Accounts	75	26.5	66	23.5
3. Acknowledgment of responsibility				
3.1. Accept the blame	33	11.7	29	10.3
3.2. Express self-deficiency	03	1.1	09	3.2
3.3. Lack of intent	06	2.1	11	3.9
AR subtotal	42		49	
4. Offer of repair	58	20.5	62	22.1
Total	282	100	281	100

n = use of strategies and substrategies in the data

A close examination of the distribution of female and male apology strategies in the P1 data in the four major strategies and their substrategies shows there were different preferences for each sex. The male speakers used the substrategies *request for forgiveness* ['Perdoe-me'], *expression of regret* ['Sinto muito'], and *blame acceptance* ['Eu me enganei'] more often than the female speakers. In addition, the male speakers gave more accounts than the female speakers (26.5% x 23.5%). On the other hand, the female speakers used the substrategy *offer of apology* ['Desculpe-me'] more often than the male speakers (33.1% x 30%). Besides this difference, the female speakers tended to use the substrategies through which they expressed either *self-deficiency* ['Como sou distraída'] or *lack of intent* ['Não foi minha intenção'] more often than the male speakers.

The P1 subjects apparently used the Portuguese formulas interchangeably. For instance, S6(lady) has received the three different IFID substrategies: ['Sinto muito, senhora'], ['Me perdoe, minha senhora'] or ['Puxa! Me desculpe'], which again may be closely related to S's way of perceiving the degree of the offence.

The analysis of the use of the four major strategies in the P1 data shows that the P1 speakers' hierarchy of preference to redress was by means of 1) an explicit IFID, 2) an account of the

situation, 3) an offer of repair, and 4) acknowledgment of responsibility.

The E1 and P1 male use of strategies/substrategies

When the E1 and P1 male use of strategies is compared, some cultural differences seem to be extremely interesting and are described below.

The E1 male speakers apologised by means of an *expression of regret* whereas the P1 male speakers preferred an *offer of apology*. Another difference is that the P1 male speakers used the substrategy *request for forgiveness* more often than the E1 male speakers. Furthermore, the P1 male speakers explained the situations more often than the E1 male speakers.

The E1 and P1 female use of strategies/substrategies

It was observed that the E1 female speakers preferred to apologise by means of the substrategy *expression of regret* whereas the P1 female speakers preferred to apologise by means of an *offer of apology*. In addition, the occurrence of accounts offered by the P1 female speakers is higher, if we observe the different total of the four major strategies analysed (281 P1 and 321 E1 items), (cf. Tables 5 and 4, respectively).

In sum, based on the analysis of the E1 and P1 male and female use of the major strategies one can conclude that 1) the E1 male and female speakers apologised more often by means of an *expression of regret* whereas the P1 male and female speakers did it via an *expression of apology*; 2) the substrategy *self-deficiency* was not used by the E1 male or female speakers at all. However, in the P1 data, this strategy appears as being more used by the female speakers; 3) the E1 and P1 data present a slight different hierarchy of preference with regard to the four major strategies. The American hierarchy was IFID, OR, ES and AR, and the Brazilian hierarchy was IFID, ES, OR and AR. The position in which these strategies most appeared is shown in Section 3.5.

All these similarities and differences pointed out in the use of strategies/substrategies by native speakers of the two languages indicate that this issue may be culturally bound, and therefore corroborate Olshtain and Cohen (1983:22) suggestion that 'it may very well be [...] that which of the subformulas is most common in any language may be specific to that language'.

E2 male and female use of the major strategies

Table 6. Sex differences in the four major strategies in the E2 data

Strategies/substrategies	Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%
1. IFIDs				
1a. offer of an apology	02	0.6	05	1.6
1b. expression of regret	84	26.8	98	30.9
1c. request for forgiveness	34	10.9	24	7.6
IFID subtotal	120		127	
2. Accounts	78	24.9	84	26.5
3. Acknowledgment of responsibility				
3a. accept blame	10	3.2	22	6.9
3b. self-deficiency	32	10.2	24	7.6
3c. lack of intent	10	3.2	09	2.8
AR subtotal	52	16.6	55	17.3
4. Offer of repair	63	20.1	51	16.1
Total	313	100	317	100

n = use of strategies and substrategies in the data

The substrategy *expression of regret* was the most used one by the E2 learners whereas the female learners used it more often than the male learners. Another IFID substrategy very commonly used was *request for forgiveness* expressed by ['Excuse me'], which definitely differs from the E1 data.

The female learners were more willing to accept the blame ['It's my fault'] than the male learners, who, on the other hand, recognised their self-deficiency ['I am wrong'] more often than the female learners. The use of this substrategy seems to be negative transfer from L1 to L2, since it was not used by the E1 subjects.

Finally, another transfer from Portuguese was the hierarchy of preference of the major strategies by the English learners: 1) an explicit IFID, 2) an account, 3) an offer of repair, and 4) acknowledgment of responsibility.

3.4 *Use of strategies: in isolation and in combination*

In a situation that demands an apology, S will apologise either by using just one strategy/substrategy or a combination of strategies/substrategies. Combining strategies does definitely intensify and make an apology stronger, as a consequence it produces a **weightier** apology (Blum-Kulka 1984, Vollmer & Olshtain 1989, Holmes 1990:169). The following examples show that strategies are not mutually exclusive, they may co-occur, as, for instance, in:

E1 data - ['Sorry (IFID), I'm late! (AR) The traffic coming from my house was awful and I got caught in it (ES). I'll be early tomorrow!' (OR)]

P1 data - ['Desculpe-me (IFID), pois estava distraído (AR) e não vi o seu carro (ES). Mas deixa que eu pago tudo!' (OR)]

The following tables show the strategies that were used alone and the strategies that occurred in combination:

3.4.1 *American native speakers' use of strategies*

Out of 320 items presented to the subjects, 02 were left blank, 44 responses (13.7%) consisted of strategies used in

isolation, and the remaining 274 responses (85.6%) correspond to remedial work which involved some combination of strategies.

Strategies used in isolation

Table 7. N=44 E1 speakers' use of strategies in isolation

Strategy	n	%
IFID	11	25
DO	09	20.4
CH	07	15.9
ES	06	13.6
OR	06	13.6
AR	03	6.8
AFNR	02	4.5

N = number of strategies used in isolation

n = occurrences of each strategy in isolation

Table 8. N=27 E1 male speakers' use of strategies in isolation

Strategy	number(n)	%
DO	07	25.9
IFID	05	18.5
CH	05	18.5
ES	04	14.8
OR	03	11.1
AR	02	7.4
AFNR	01	3.7

N = number of strategies used in isolation by male speakers

n = occurrences of each strategy in isolation

Table 9. N=17 E1 female speakers' use of strategies in isolation

Strategy	n	%
IFID	06	35.3
OR	03	17.6
ES	02	11.8
CH	02	11.8
DO	02	11.8
AR	01	5.9
AFNR	01	5.9

N = number of strategies used in isolation by female speakers

n = occurrences of each strategy in isolation

By observing the tables above we can arrive at the following conclusions: the E1 speakers rarely used strategies in isolation, but the two most used ones were strategies IFID and DO. When the male and female speakers were analysed separately, the choice of strategy most used in isolation differed, that is, the male E1 speakers were much more willing to distract from the offence than the female E1 speakers, who offered an apology instead.

Strategies used in combination

There was a wide range of combinations in the corpora, therefore only the most meaningful and relevant ones will be dealt with.

The following three tables will show: the E1 speakers' preferences in combining strategies; the E1 male preferences; and the E1 female preferences.

Table 10. N=274 E1 speakers' combination of strategies

Strategies	n	%
ACD	40	14.6
AC	37	13.5
AD	28	10.2
ABD	17	6.2
AF	11	4
AB	09	3.2
AGD	08	2.9
ABH	08	2.9
ACDF	05	1.8

A = IFID; B = AR; C = ES; D = OR; F = CH; G = AFNR; H = DO

N = number of combinations in the data

n = occurrences of each combination

Table 11. N=134 E1 male speakers' combination of strategies

Strategies	n	%
AC	21	15.7
AD	19	14.2
ACD	16	11.9
AB	06	4.5
ABD	06	4.5
ABH	04	3.0
ACDF	04	3.0
AF	03	2.2
AGD	03	2.2

N = amount of male combinations

n = occurrences of each combination

Table 12. N=140 E1 female speakers' combination of strategies

Strategies	Number	%
ACD	24	17.1
AC	16	11.4
ABD	11	7.8
AD	09	6.4
AF	08	5.7
AGD	05	3.6
ABH	04	2.8
AB	03	2.1
ACDF	01	0.7

N = amount of female combinations

n = occurrences of each combination

The figures in this table show that the pattern of strategies that most co-occurred in the E1 data was ACD (IFID followed by an account followed by repair) at a rate of 14.6%. The second most used combination (13.5%) was AC (IFID + account). However, this scale of preference changes when we take the variable sex into account. For instance, the combination AD (IFID + OR) was far more used by men (14.2%) than by women (6.4%). The latter group, on the other hand, used the pattern ACD (IFID + ES

+ OR) at a rate of 17.1% whereas the same combination occurred only at a rate of 11.9% in the male data.

Finally, there is the combination AF (IFID + concern), which was almost exclusively used by the female speakers; the male speakers used it only three times (in S6-lady), the strategy AB (IFID + acknowledgment of responsibility) being used instead in other situations (cf Table 11). Vollmer & Olshtain (1989:213) say that 'another way of creating S's feeling of interest towards the well-being of H would be by adding to the apology strategies a statement of concern for the hearer.'. However, one cannot say that the E1 female speakers showed more concern than the E1 male speakers, since the latter used this strategy in isolation more often than the female speakers.

Although the E1 speakers combined strategies in a similar way, it seems that intralingual preferences exist when the variable sex is taken into account. Questions such as why the male speakers used the combination AD more often than the female speakers, or why the female speakers used the combination AF more often than the male speakers require larger corpora including the native speakers' intuition about this issue before one can arrive at a pattern.

3.4.2. *Brazilian native speakers' use of strategies*

The same analysis of the strategies used in isolation and in combination by the E1 speakers was applied to the Brazilian data

to find out whether the speakers of one language preferred to use one strategy rather than another. Out of the 320 items presented, 04 were left blank; 48 responses had strategies used in isolation (12.8%), and the remaining 268 (83.7%) had combined strategies.

Strategies used in isolation

Table 13. N=48 P1 speakers' use of strategies in isolation

Strategies	n	%
ES	18	37.5
IFID	10	20.8
OR	07	14.6
AFNR	06	12.5
DO	05	10.4
AR	01	2.1
CH	01	2.1

N = number of strategies used in isolation
n = occurrences of each strategy

Table 14. N=24 P1 male speakers' use of strategies in isolation

Strategies	n	%
ES	9	37.5
IFID	6	25
DO	3	12.5
OR	3	12.5
AFNR	2	8.3
CH	1	4.2

N = number of strategies used in isolation
n = occurrences of each strategy

Table 15. N=24 P1 female speakers' use of strategies in isolation

Strategies	n	%
ES	09	37.5
AFNR	04	16.7
OR	04	16.7
IFID	04	16.7
DO	02	8.3
AR	01	4.1

N = number of strategies used in isolation
n = occurrences of each strategy

Although there has been no difference in the use of ES, the most frequent strategy used by both sexes, these tables indicate that there have been some sex preferences. For example, the male speakers used an explicit IFID more often than the female speakers (25% and 16.7% respectively). The female speakers, on the other hand, avoided taking responsibility (AFNR) at a rate of 16.7%.

Strategies used in combination

Table 16. N=268 P1 speakers' combination of strategies

Strategies	n	%
AC	33	12.3
AD	26	9.7
AB	15	5.6
ACD	14	5.2
CD	14	5.2
ACDF	12	4.5

A = IFID; B = AR; C = ES; D = OR; F = CH

N = amount of combinations in the data, n = occurrences of each combination

Table 17. N=132 P1 male speakers' combination of strategies

Strategies	n	%
AC	18	13.6
AD	13	9.8
AB	11	8.3
ACD	07	5.3
ACDF	07	5.3
CD	05	3.8

N = amount of male combinations, n = occurrences of each combination

Table 18. N=136 P1 female speakers' combination of strategies

Strategies	n	%
AC	15	11
AD	13	9.5
CD	09	6.6
ACD	07	5.1
AH	07	5.1
AB	04	2.9

H = DO, N = amount of female combinations, n = occurrences of each combination

The three tables show a similar priority of choice, that is, strategies AC (IFID + ES), AD (IFID + OR) and ACD (IFID + ES + OR) occurred in a decreasing order of preference. The male and female subjects used strategies AD and ACD with the same number of occurrences (13 and 07 respectively). The combination AB (IFID + AR) was significantly more used by the male speakers than by the female speakers, who used it only four times. Strategy CD (ES + OR) also received different treatment by each sex, but this time the female speakers used it at a rate of 6.6% whereas in the male data it occurred at a rate of 3.8%.

If we now compare the strategies used by the native speakers of American English and Portuguese, we find that IFIDs and DO were the strategies in isolation most used by the E1 speakers (25% and 20.4%, respectively), whereas in the P1 data, the strategy ES and IFIDs were the ones mostly used (37.5% and 20.8% respectively). In addition, the most common combination among the E1 speakers were ACD (IFID + ES + OR) and AC (IFID + ES) whereas among the P1 speakers the combination AC (IFID + ES) and AD (IFID + OR). These findings show that each language seems to have some strategies that are the most common ones, and their choice with regard to appropriateness seems to be language specific although they sometimes show common features.

3.4.3 *English learners' use of strategies*

Out of the 320 items given to E2 learners, 07 were not

answered, 31 contained strategies used in isolation (9.7%) and 282 consisted of a combination of strategies (88.1%).

Strategies used in isolation

Table 19. N=31 E2 learners' use of strategies in isolation

Strategies	n	%
C	10	32.2
H	07	22.6
A	07	22.6
D	03	9.7
B	02	6.4
G	02	6.4

N = number of strategies used in isolation

n = occurrences of each strategy used in isolation

Table 20. N=17 E2 male learners' use of strategies in isolation

Strategies	Number	%
C	05	29.4
A	04	23.5
H	03	17.6
D	02	11.8
B	02	11.8
G	01	5.9

N = number of strategies used in isolation

n = occurrences of each strategy used in isolation

Table 21. N=14 E2 female learners' use of strategies in isolation

Strategies	Number	%
C	05	35.7
H	04	28.6
A	03	21.4
D	01	7.1
G	01	7.1

N = number of strategies used in isolation

n = occurrences of each strategy used in isolation

What is to be observed is that both male and female learners preferred to explain the situation rather than offer an apology (A) or distract from the offence (H). It seems that the learners were more influenced by Brazilian culture when using strategies in isolation, and decided to give an account for the situation rather than use an explicit IFID, in a way similar to what P1 speakers did, but different from what the E1 speakers did. Another difference found is that while the E1 speakers used the strategy F (concern) in isolation, the learners did not use it at all.

Strategies used in combination

Table 22. N=282 E2 learners' combination of strategies

Strategies	n	%
AC	50	17.73
ACD	19	6.73
ABD	13	4.60
ACH	09	3.19
ABC	09	3.19
AB	09	3.19
AF	06	2.13
AD	06	2.13

N = total of combinations

n = occurrences of each combination

Table 23. N=140 E2 male learners' combination of strategies

Strategies	Number	%
AC	16	11.42
ACD	10	7.14
ACH	07	5.0
ABD	06	4.28
AB	06	4.28
AD	05	3.57
ABC	04	2.85
CA	04	2.85

N = total of male combinations

n = occurrences of each combination

Table 24. N=142 E2 female learners' combination of strategies

Strategies	Number	%
AC	34	23.94
ACD	09	6.34
ABD	07	4.92
ABC	05	3.52
AF	05	3.52
AB	03	2.11
ACH	02	1.41
AD	01	0.71

N = total of female combinations

n = occurrences of each combination

It can be observed that the male and female learners' first two choices do not differ from those presented in Table 22. The frequency of the combinations ACD (IFID + ES + OR) and ABD (IFID + AR + OR) is about the same. However, the combination AC was used by the female learners at a rate of 23.94% while the male learners used it at a rate of 11.42%, which does not correspond to the use of this strategy by the E1 and P1 female speakers, who used it less than the E1 and P1 male speakers. Another striking point is that the combination ACH (IFID + ES + DO) was more used by men (5.0%) than by women (1.4%). Finally the combination AD (IFID + OR) was also more used by the male learners than by the female learners. This finding somehow matches Table 6 (Section 3.3.2) which shows that the male learners offered more repair than the female learners.

This analysis shows how strategies combine and which combinations are the most frequent ones among the E1, P1 and E2 respondents. Few researchers have provided information on the co-occurrence of strategies (Olshtain & Cohen 1983, Trosberg

1987, Holmes 1990). Yet, it is important to note that remedial work by means of strategy A (IFID) is 'the simplest and least heavily weighted' whereas that in categories C (ES) and D (OR) is 'more complex and more heavily weighted', according to Leech 1983 (in Holmes 1990:169).

In sum, there might be a relation between the combination of strategies and the degree of the offence. Research about how native speakers perceive the offence would be a valuable contribution to the area.

3.5. Sequence of strategies

The strategies showed an interesting flexibility of position. The following tables show the positions in which each strategy appeared in the E1, P1, and E2 data. For example, the strategies illocutionary force indicating device (A), offer of repair (D), and concern for the hearer (F) were found to be used in positions 1, 2, 3 and 4. However the other strategies were not used in all positions, as shown below.

3.5.1 *American native speakers' sequence*

Table 25. N=713 E1 position of strategies in sentences

1	2	3	4
A	A	A	A
B	B	B	B
C	C	C	-
D	D	D	D
-	-	E	E
F	F	F	F
G	G	-	-
H	H	H	-

N = total of occurrences of strategies in positions 1, 2, 3, 4

This table shows that in the E1 data, although IFIDs (A) were found to be used in any position, they occurred at a rate of 84.7% in position 1. An account for the situation (B) was found to be most used in position 2 at a rate of 78.9 % whereas an offer of repair (D) appeared mostly in position 3 (58.3 %). Acknowledgment of responsibility (B) and concern for the hearer (F) and acknowledgment of facts but not responsibility (G) appeared most often in position 2 (61.2%, 47.4%, and 84.6%). The last strategy DO (distracting from the offence) occurred more often in position 3 (70%). The following table shows the rate at which the most frequent strategies occurred.

Table 25a. Position in which strategies showed the highest rate.

1	2	3
IFID	ES	OR
N = 255	N = 128	N = 138
n = 216	n = 101	n = 81
84.7%	78.9%	58.3%

N = total use of each strategy

n = occurrences of each strategy in each position

3.5.2 Brazilian native speakers' sequence

Table 26. N=631 P1 position of strategies in sentences

1	2	3	4
A	A	A	A
B	B	B	-
C	C	C	-
D	D	D	D
-	E	E	E
F	F	F	F
G	G	G	-
H	H	H	H

N = total of occurrences of strategies in positions 1, 2, 3, 4

Male and female speakers largely used IFIDs (A) in position 1. They occurred in this position at a rate of 84.8%.

Accounts (C) were mostly used in position 2 (55.6%). The same observation holds true for strategy AR (B), at a rate of 62.6%. None of the respondents used an AR in position 4.

The subjects used strategy OR (C) the same number of times in positions 2 and 3 (43.8%) in each position.

Concern for the hearer (F) appeared mostly in position 2 (37.1%). The strategy acknowledgment of facts but not responsibility (G) was also mostly used in position 2 (75%). The last strategy, distracting from the offence (H), when used in combination with other strategies occurred more often in position 2 (66.7%).

Table 26a. Position in which strategies showed the highest rate

1	2	3
IFID	ES	OR
N = 211	N = 141	N = 105
n = 179	n = 79	n = 46
84.8%	55.6%	43.8%

N = total use of each strategy

n = occurrences of each strategy in each position

3.5.3 English learners' sequence

Table 27. N=781 E2 position of strategies in sentences

1	2	3	4
A	A	A	A
B	B	B	B
C	C	C	C
D	D	D	D
-	E	E	E
F	F	F	F
-	G	G	G
H	H	H	H

N = total of occurrences of strategies in positions 1, 2, 3, 4

The male and female learners showed a similar use of IFIDs (A) in position 1. This strategy occurred at a rate of 82.6%. Accounts (B) were most frequent in position 2 (73.1%). The strategy offer of repair (C) was most frequent in position 3, at a rate of 57.1%. Strategies AR (B), CH (F), AFNR (G) appeared most frequently in position 2 at rates of 56.9%, 33.3%, and 64%, respectively. Strategy DO (H) was most frequent in position 3 (42.4%).

Table 27a. N=781 Position in which strategies showed the highest rate

	1	2	3
IFID	ES	OR	
N = 247	N = 160	N = 105	
n = 204	n = 117	n = 60	
82.6%	73.1%	57.1%	

N = total use of each strategy

n = occurrences of each strategy in each position

When used in combination, although the strategies analysed show a relative flexibility in position, the most common pattern in E1 and P1 data, and even in the E2 data, was:

POSITION		
1	2	3
IFID	ES	OR

The fact that the three experimental groups (E1, F1 and E2) used the same strategies in the same order, and the fact that the three groups did not use the strategy promise of forbearance (PF) in position 1 should not be taken as a co-occurrence rule. But, both facts describe patterns found in the corpora analysed, which require confirmation from further investigation with larger corpora.

3.6 Social distance and social dominance variables

All the situations took these variables into account. Social distance refers to the degree of more or less familiarity between interactants, while social dominance refers to the social status of S in relation to H (S of a higher, equal or lower status than H). As already mentioned (cf. 2.3), my aim at this point is to investigate whether these variables might have influenced the choice of strategies. According to Wolfson, Marmor and Jones

The more status and social distance are seen as fixed, the more likely it is that people will know what to expect of one another and the less likely they are to run the risk of doing themselves social damage. (1989:184)

The social variables that were embedded in the situations will now be correlated with the strategies which were predominant in each situation in each of the three groups. In the cases where the social variables are found to be influential factors in the E1, F1, and E2 subjects' choices, they will then be contrastively viewed.

Table 28. Social variables across the eight situations

Strategies	E1	P1	E2
IFID	S4(S < H; -sd) S2(S > H; +sd)	S3(S < H; +sd) S6(S = H; +sd)	S4(S < H; -sd) S2(S > H; +sd)
AR	S7(S = H; -sd) S8(S = H; -sd)	S7(S = H; -sd) S8(S = H; -sd)	S7(S = H; -sd) S8(S = H; -sd)
ES	S1(S > H; -sd) S4(S < H; -sd)	S1(S > H; -sd) S2(S > H; +sd)	S1(S > H; -sd) S4(S < H; -sd)
OR	S4(S < H; -sd) S3(S < H; +sd)	S3(S < H; +sd) S5(S = H; +sd)	S3(S < H; +sd) S5(S = H; +sd)
PF	S7(S = H; -sd)	S3(S < H; +sd)	S7(S = H; -sd) S6(S = H; +sd)
CH	S6(S = H; +sd)	S5(S = H; +sd)	S6(S = H; +sd)
AFNR	S3(S < H; +sd)	S3(S < H; +sd)	S3(S < H; +sd)
DO	S8(S = H; -sd)	S2(S > H; +sd) S6(S = H; +sd)	S2(S > H; +sd)

sd= social distance; S= speaker; H= hearer

The situations in which IFIDs were predominant are S2 (manager), S3(waiter) and S6(lady), which are those that involve more social distance. In S4(book) IFIDs also predominated; although this situation involves less social distance, it does involve the variable dominance as S(student) is of a lower status than his professor (H) (S < H).

AR (acknowledgment of responsibility) was the predominant strategy in S7(worker) and S8(classmate). Both situations present S and H with equal status and with less social distance.

S1(sem. paper), S2(manager) and S4(book) had the highest frequency of accounts; these situations involve interactants of different status. S1(sem. paper), and S4(book) involve less social distance, whereas S2 involves more social distance.

Strategy OR (repair) was predominant in S3(waiter), S4(book) and S5(driver). S3 and S4 involve an S of a lower status than H ($S < H$). Although S5 involves interactants of equal status '...it was specifically chosen so as to allow for a suitable context for the formula offer of repair.' (Olshtain 1983:243).

Strategy CH (concern for the hearer) predominated in S5 (driver) and S6(lady). Both situations involve interactants of equal status and more social distance.

Strategy AFNR (acknowledgment of facts but not responsibility) predominated in S3(waiter). This situation involves more social distance and S is of a lower status than H.

Strategy DO (distracting from the offence) was predominant in S2(manager), S6(lady) and S8(classmate). Although S2(manager) involves an S of a higher status than H ($S > H$) and S6(lady) an S and H of equal status ($S = H$), both situations involve more social distance, whereas S8 involves less social distance and interactants of equal status. The native speakers of both languages tended to distract from the offence in S2(manager), by showing a *task-oriented attitude*: E1 in S8 ['Let's get started']

This analysis shows that both the social distance variable and the social dominance variable were influential factors in the choice of strategies used by the respondents. However, cultural aspects were observed with regard to the situations in which one strategy is predominant.

The E1, P1 and E2 data contrastively viewed

The variables seem to have influenced the three groups of respondents in a similar way in relation to the situations in which the strategies AR, ES and AFNR were predominant. For instance, in all the three groups, the professor in S1 was more willing to offer an account than an IFID. This might be explained by the fact that the professor is expected to be a busy person, therefore not able to return a student's term paper on a set day. But all the respondents do agree that H deserves an explanation.

The E1 and E2 choices of the strategies IFID, PF (promise of forbearance) and CH (concern for the hearer), for the situations in which they are predominant are similar, but different from the P1 choice. For instance, IFIDs were predominant in S4(book) and in S2(manager) among the E1 and the E2 respondents whereas in the P1 data this strategy was predominant in S3(waiter) and S6(lady). One can conclude that the

variable social distance may have influenced the P1 respondents and the variable social dominance may have influenced the E1 and E2 respondents.

With regard to the predominance of PF in S7(worker) among the E1 and E2 respondents and in S3(waiter) among the P1 speakers, it is observed that the E1 speakers only used this strategy, at an extremely low rate['I won't do it again']. The P1 use of this strategy in S3 may be language specific and might be explained by the waiter's attempt to please the customer, which is quite typical in good restaurants in Brazil. Although some E2 learners used this strategy in a way similar to the E1 speakers, in S7, others also used it inappropriately in S6 which seems to be the case of not knowing what to say, but this requires further investigation.

Strategy CH was also equally predominant in S6(lady) in the E1 and E2 data, but only predominant in S5(driver) in the P1 data. Both social variables seem to have influenced the respondents' choice, since S5 and S6 involve more social distance and interactants of equal status.

Strategies OR (repair) and DO (distracting from the offence) were the only ones in which the E2 learners' choice differed from that of the E1 speakers', but was similar to that of the P1 speakers'. In S4(book) and S3(waiter), strategy OR was the most predominant among the E1 speakers. Both situations involve an S of a lower status than H. In the P1 and E2 data, this strategy

was predominant in S3(waiter). S5(driver) had the second highest use of OR (repair) among the P1 and E2 respondents. Although this situation involves interactants of equal status, there is more social distance involved.

The AFNR strategy was predominant among the respondents of the three groups in S3:

E1 ['The chef read my order wrong']
 P1 ['Houve um engano na cozinha']
 E2 ['There was a mistake in the kitchen']

With regard to strategy D0, the E2 and P1 speakers used it in S2(manager) which involves more social distance and an H of lower status than S, who can easily distract from the offence by showing a *task-oriented* attitude:

P1 ['Vamos começar a entrevista']
 E2 ['Let's start!']

In contrast, the E1 speakers used this strategy more often in S3(classmate), which involves less social distance and interactants of equal status.

In sum, the E2 speakers' choice of strategies was similar to that of the E1 speakers' with regard to the social distance and social dominance variables except for the strategy OR (repair), which did not correspond to the E1 speakers' choice. The learners also offered more repair in S5(driver), in a way more similar to that of the P1 speakers' than to that of the E1 speakers', the latter offering more repair in S4(book).

3.7 *Forms of address*

Personal address is a sociolinguistic subject per excellence. In every language and society, everytime one person speaks to another, there is created a host of options centering around whether and how persons will be addressed, named, described.

(Philipsen & Huspek 1985:94)

The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985), under the entry *address forms* says that

if a language has only one second person pronoun form, eg English *you*, other address forms are used to show formality or informality.

Pronouns of address (*you*, *você*, *tu*) were not found in the data. The address forms that appear in the context of the research were *Sir/Ma'am*; *Senhor/a*; *FN* (first name); *T* (title-eg *Mr*); *LN* (last name); *role* (eg. *professor*); *terms of endearment* (eg. *dear*, *honey*, *caro* (adj)); and others such as *bud*, *dude*, *cara* (n), *amigo*.

This section looks at the different use of forms of address by native speakers of both languages and the frequency with which address forms are used. It also shows the English learners' way of addressing people in the target language.

3.7.1 *E1, P1, and E2 use of address forms*

Address forms were used with different frequencies by the P1, E1, and E2 respondents. The P1 speakers addressed the hearer at a proportion of 35.4% (112 occurrences out of 316 responded

items), whereas the E1 speakers did it at a proportion of 7.2% (23 occurrences out of 318 responded items), and the E2 learners addressed H at a proportion of 25.9% (81 occurrences out of 313 responded items).

The male speakers in the E1 and P1 groups addressed the hearer either by using role (e.g. Professor), last or first name more often than the female speakers.

In the E1 data, the male speakers used forms of address at a rate of 8.9% (14 occurrences out of 158 responded items) whereas the female speakers at a rate of 5.6% (09 occurrences out of 160 responded items). In the P1 data, the male speakers used forms of address at a rate of 41.4% (65 occurrences out of 157 responded items) whereas the female speakers used them at a rate of 29.5% (47 occurrences out of 159 responded items). In the E2 data, the male speakers used forms of address at a rate of 25.6% (41 occurrences out of 160 responded items) and the female learners used them at a rate of 26.1% (40 occurrences out of 153 responded items).

Although address forms were very much used by the P1 speakers, some forms are deferential while others are not. Out of the 112 address terms used, 83 were deferential (signaled by an (*) in Table 29). The P1 male speakers, used deferential address terms more often than the female speakers (54.2%, n=45 x 45.8%, n=38). The English learners also used deferential forms more often than other forms of address. Out of 81 occurrences, 56 were

deferential. The male learners were also found to use respectful forms a little more often than the female learners, the difference being 29 (51.8%) x 27 (48.2%), respectively. The E1 speakers were also found to convey deference by means of forms of address. Out of 23 occurrences, 14 are deferential. The male and female speakers used them equally, that is, there were 07 occurrences of deferential address forms produced by each sex.

The P1 and E2 male respondents' use of forms of address are signals of social distance, thus deferential and more formal. Forms of address such as ['Senhor', 'Senhora', 'Sir' and 'Ma'am'] are examples of S's intention to convey deference (Wolfson 1989:82-3).

Below, the address forms used in each situation by the E1, P1, and E2 respondents are given in Table 29. The examples are listed, following the criterion of hierarchy of use. It is important to mention again that there are 20 male and 20 female respondents in each group for each situation.

Table 27.E1, P1 and E2 use of address forms

	E1	n=23	P1	n=112	E2	n=81
S1	FN	01	meu amigo	03	FN	05
	student	01	caro aluno	03	students	02
			FN	02	people	01
			pessoal	01		
S2			meu amigo	02	my friend	02
			prezado aluno	01	dear	01
			FN	01	boy	01
					FN	01
S3	sir*	04	senhor*	25	sir*	11
			meu senhor*	02	monsieur*	03
			senhor/a*	02	Mr.*	02
			caro amigo	01	my friend	02
S4	professor*	05	professor*	21	teacher*	25
	Mr. LN*	02	senhor*	03	professor*	01
	Dude	01				
	FN	01				
	professor LN*	01				
S5	dude	01	senhor *	04	man	02
			meu amigo	01	sir*	01
			meu senhor*	01	Mr.*	01
			amigo	01	brother	01
			cara	01		
S6	ma'am*	01	senhora*	18	lady*	10
	miss*	01	minha senhora*	06	madam*	01
			tia*	01		
S7			FN	03	fellow	01
			companheiro	01	Mr.*	01
			amigo	01	friend	01
			caro amigo	01	FN	01
			caro colega	01		
			colega	01		
S8	bud	01	FN	02	FN	01
	dude	01	rapaz	01	man	01
	honey	01	cara	01	guy	01
	FN	01			dear	01

n = occurrences of forms of address in the data, * deferential terms

In the following comments, based on the data provided by the E1, P1 and E2 subjects, frequencies below 25% (05 occurrences) are not taken into consideration.

a. In S1(sem. paper), the P1 male speakers were the ones that most used address forms (35% = 07 occurrences); the E2 female learners used address forms at a rate of 25% (05 occurrences).

b. In S2(manager), the E1 male and female speakers and the P1 female did not use any form of address. The E2 respondents used informal forms of address at the minimum rate of 25%.

c. In S3(waiter), the E1 speakers used forms of address at a very low rate, while the P1 male speakers used them at a rate of 100%; the forms of address 'Senhor'/'Meu Senhor', for example, were used by nineteen out of the twenty male subjects. The P1 female speakers addressed the customer at a rate of 50%, either as 'Senhor' or 'Senhor/a'. The latter form is used in written Portuguese when the sex of the addressee is not known. One example of the non-deferential form of address 'Caro amigo', was used by the male speakers. Both the E2 male and female learners used forms of address at a rate of 45% each.

d. In S4(book), the P1 and E2 female respondents were the ones that used address forms the most (75%). The E2 male learners came second, using the title/role ['teacher'] exclusively at a rate of 55%. The P1 male speakers used the address form ['Professor'] also exclusively at a rate of 45%.

e. In S5(driver), the only group to use forms of address at a rate of at least 25% was the P1 group..

f. In S6(lady), the P1 male speakers used deferential forms of address at a rate of 70% ['Senhora', 'Minha Senhora' and even 'tia']. The last one is very much used in Florianópolis, SC, and it seems to be mainly used by men of a lower sociocultural status when addressing women in general. The P1 female speakers also used respectful forms of address at a rate of 55%, and the E2 female learners used respectful forms at a rate of 35%.

g. In S7(fellow worker), the P1 female speakers were the only ones to use forms of address but at the minimum rate of 25%.

h. In S8(classmate), the subjects in the three groups addressed H in a very similar informal way, but at a very low rate.

On the whole, what is striking is the high frequency of address forms used by P1 speakers (mainly male) and the very low frequency of address forms used by native speakers of American English. Ervin-Tripp (1969) gives a very clear description of the rules for American English:

A priest, physician, dentist, or judge may be addressed by title alone, but a plain citizen or an academic person may not. In the latter cases, if the name is unknown, there is no address form (or zero, 0) available and we simply name the addressee.

(in Wolfson 1989:83)

Cultural differences as well as intralingual differences with regard to sex preferences were found. A major difference lies in the choice of the situations that received the highest number of deferential forms of address. While the P1 speakers used them the most in S3(waiter) at a rate of 34.9% (29 occurrences), the E1 and E2 respondents used them the most in S4 (book) at the rates of 57.1% (08 occurrences) and 46.4% (26 occurrences).

The English learners did not present many problems when addressing people, in spite of the fact that they addressed H more often than the native speakers of English did, which might have been L1 influence or they might have been taught to do so. According to Wolfson (1989:169), 'Although learners of English are usually taught that where names are unknown, the forms miss, ma'am and sir are used in English, this was found not to be true in many situations.'. The address forms ['teacher' and 'lady'] much used by the E2 respondents were not found in the E1 data. Both are pragmatic transfers since they are translations of ['professor' and 'senhora'], which were very often used by the P1 speakers.

As a final comment, the high frequency of deferential forms of address in S3(waiter), S4(book) and S6(lady) may very well indicate that S's low social status in S3 and S4 has had a determinant role in S's attempt to restore the harmony of the

situation, or in S6, the only situation in which the addressee was marked as being a lady. Further investigation to check how the addressee's sex influences the use of forms of address is required both in English and in Portuguese.

3.8 *Intensifying the apology*

According to previous studies (Blum-Kulka 1989, Fraser 1981, Vollmer & Olshtain 1989) an apology can be internally or externally intensified. Internal intensification takes place either when an adverbial is used within the IFID ['I'm ~~terribly~~ sorry'] or when an exclamation is used at the beginning of the apology ['~~Oops~~, I'm sorry' or 'Euxa! Desculpas!']. External intensification can be achieved via repetition of strategies ['Are you OK? Are you sure you're OK?' or 'Entreguei o prato errado. Sei que foi falha minha'], or when a double IFID is used either through the repetition of the same IFID: ['I'm sorry. I'm really sorry' or 'Desculpe ... Me desculpe!'], or through the realization of different subformulas of the IFID: ['I'm sorry. I apologise for keeping you waiting' or 'Lamento ... e por isso me perdoe'] and also through the addition of the word 'please' ['Please, I'm very sorry' or 'Por favor, desculpe-me'] to the strategies used. Vollmer and Olshtain (1989:211) state that

the emotional use of 'Oh' is a common intensification in spoken language, the use of the subformulas of IFID, a request for forgiveness as well as an expression of regret, strongly intensify the apology.

Apologies in the corpora were intensified by multiple strategies (cf. Section 3.4), by adding adverbials, exclamations, using the same strategy twice and/or by adding the word 'please' to the remedial work.

It appears that the speakers of both languages have a considerable number of intensifiers available. The adverbials and exclamations used by the E1, P1, and E2 respondents are presented below.

The lists of these intensifiers show no one-to-one correspondence with regard to meaning. The criterion is decreasing frequency of occurrence.

American data(E1)	Brazilian data(P1)	Learners' data(E2)
a. adverbials		
very	mil	really
so	infelizmente	so
terribly		very
unfortunately		terribly
b. exclamations		
Oh!	Puxa!	Oh!
Dops!	Puxa vida!	Oh, my God!
Oh my gosh!	Ah, meu Deus!	Oh no!
Gosh!	Droga!	
	Nossa!	

3.8.1 *The E1 use of intensification*

a. S7(fellow worker) and S8(classmate) were the only situations that were not intensified through adverbials. The fact that both situations involve interactants of equal status and less social distance may have influenced the E1 subjects not to use intensifiers when making up for the offence. The reader may ask about the other two situations (S6-lady/S5-driver) which also involve equal status. These situations, however, are underlain by more social distance.

b. The highest frequency of intensification through adverbials was found in S6(lady), in which $S=H$ and there is more social distance involved. S2 (manager $S > H$; +sd), and S5(driver $S = H$; +sd) also received a high frequency of intensifiers, which indicates that the E1 speakers did intensify through the use of adverbials, situations in which more social distance is involved.

c. There were also sex differences in the data: the E1 female speakers were found to use adverbials (very, so, terribly and really) more often than male speakers, except in S5 (driver). This finding corroborates Lakoff's (1973) claim that women emphasize their utterances much more frequently than men do, which seems to apply to American English.

Another way to achieve intensification is by means of exclamations. In this respect, the E1 male and female subjects

did not show different preferences. The highest occurrence of exclamations in the E1 data was found in S6(lady).

The word 'please' appeared more often in S3(waiter). It is interesting to mention that the female speakers used this marker of politeness more often than the male speakers. In addition, this marker was also found to be used together with double IFIDs by the female speakers: ['Please, excuse me. I'm very sorry!']. This example was used in S6(lady).

Repetition of strategies or IFIDs were found in a very small number, only 06 occurrences, which were used either in S6(lady S = H; +sd) or in S7(worker S = H; -sd). An example of the repetition of strategies in each situation is given below:

S6 ['I'm sorry (ER). Are you OK? (CH) Are you sure you're OK? (CH) I'm sorry (ER)'].

S7 ['I'm sorry (ER) that I offended you (AR) .Sometimes my mouth talks before my brain does (ES). I'm sorry (ER) that I have hurt you (AR). I'll never do it again (PF)'].

3.8.2 *The PI use of intensification*

a. S2(manager), S7(worker) and S8(classmate) were the situations that were not intensified by means of adverbials. The occurrence of adverbials in S3(waiter), S4(book), S5(driver) and S6(lady) was very low. However, S5 had the highest occurrence of exclamations.

b. The highest frequency of intensification by means of adverbials in the P1 data was not found in the situations where S is of a lower status than H(S<H), but in S1(sem.paper) in which S, the professor, is of a higher status than H, the student: [‘Infelizmente, não acabei de ler o seu trabalho’].

c. Sex preferences in the use of adverbials and exclamations were not found. However the Brazilian female speakers’ range of exclamations was more diversified than the males’ [‘Nossa’, ‘Puxa cara’, ‘(Ah) meu Deus’, ‘Droga’, ‘Puxa’, ‘Puxa vida’ and ‘Oh cara’]. In addition, the expression ‘por favor’ appeared more often in S3(waiter) and it was more used by the female speakers in S3, S6 and S7. In fact, these were the only situations that received this marker of politeness by the male and female speakers.

Finally repetitions of strategies and IFIDs were only used by the female speakers, two examples of the repetition of the same IFID in S2(manager) and S3(waiter), and one example of the repetition of strategies in S3 were found and are shown in examples a and b:

- a. S2 [‘Lamento (ER) ... e por isso me perdoe (RF)’].
S3 [‘Sinto muitíssimo (ER + intensifier)...Minhas desculpas (OA)']
- b. S3 [‘Trouxe o prato errado (AR). Sei que foi falha minha(AR)’]

The analysis of the different use of intensification in the E1 and P1 data shows that the American subjects used far more adverbials than the Brazilian subjects (46 x 08 occurrences). The E1 subjects also used more exclamations than the Brazilian ones, but the difference decreased significantly (24 x 16 occurrences). The use of the marker of politeness ['por favor'/'please'] was more used by the Brazilian subjects than by the American ones (11 x 08 occurrences).

The repetition of strategies and of IFIDs was more used by the E1 and P1 female speakers than by the E1 male speakers. The P1 male speakers did not use either double IFIDs or double strategies.

Although intensification was accomplished more by means of combination of strategies, it was also accomplished by means of adverbials, exclamations, the marker 'please', double IFIDs and/or double strategies, overall intensification representing 26.3%, 12%, 34.5% - in the E1, P1, and E2 data, respectively.

3.8.3 *The E2 use of intensification*

The analysis of the English learners' data yielded the following results:

- a. The male and female learners intensified their apologies by means of adverbials and exclamations alike. By equally intensifying their apologies, the male and female learners

transferred a Brazilian sociocultural feature into the target language;

b. The learners intensified all the situations regardless of status or distance, except for S7(worker S = H, -sd) in which exclamations were used the most;

c. S4(book) was the situation mostly intensified through adverbials, which does not coincide either with the E1 speakers' or the P1 speakers' use of intensification, who used adverbials the most in S6(lady) and S1(sem. paper), respectively);

d. S5(driver) was the situation in which both the male and female learners used exclamations the most, as in the P1 data.

Finally, the marker 'please' was also used by the learners in a way similar to that of the E1 speakers'. The striking difference between the E2 and the E1 data was E2's high occurrence of double IFIDs (12 x 04 occurrences, respectively), as in:

S8 ['Oh, I'm very sorry (exclamation + ER + intensifier) ...
Forgive me (RF) 'I.

3.9 Cultural differences

Significant cultural differences in the choice of the apologetic strategies used by the American speakers (E1) and the Brazilian speakers (P1) are summarized in this section. At the end, an archetypal apology table of each language is provided. This table presents the most common apology strategies used by

the E1 and P1 native speakers to make up for the offence in each situation.

3.9.1 *Summary of cultural differences*

1. It was found that the E1 speakers apologised more explicitly through the use of IFIDs than the P1 speakers, 79.9% and 66.7%, respectively. The English learners' use of apologies was closer to the E1 speakers' than to the P1 speakers' (79%).

2. The E1 and P1 speakers made the same choice of the predominant strategies only in three of the situations (S1, S3 and S7), which confirms the CCSARP project researchers' hypothesis that speakers of different cultures may prefer different strategies to make up for an offence. The English learners' choices were closer to the ones made by the E1 speakers than to those made by the P1 speakers, although transfers from L1 into L2 were found.

3. The *expression of regret* [be sorry] proved to be the most common strategy used by the E1 respondents, whereas the P1 respondents preferred the substrategy *offer of apology* [Desculpas/Desculpe-me]. The E2 speakers mostly used an *expression of regret* [be sorry/sorry], followed by the substrategy *request for forgiveness* [Excuse me] which was used 55 times out of a total of 246 IFIDs used. The E1 speakers used this combination only 13 times in a total of 260 IFIDs used.

4. The subjects' preferences for the combination of strategies also reflected cultural differences. While the E1 speakers were more willing to use the combination ACD (IFID + ES + OR) and AC (IFID + ES), the P1 speakers used the combination AC (IFID + ES) and AD (IFID + ES) more often. The E2 speakers also used the combination AC more often than any other combination.

5. All the three groups of subjects showed a similar sequence pattern: IFID/ES/OR. This finding, however should not be taken to mean that there is a co-occurrence rule for English and Portuguese. Further investigation is necessary before one can reach any firm conclusions.

6. The social distance and the social dominance variables have proved to influence the choice of strategies made by the E1 and P1 speakers. The English learners appeared to cope with social distance and social dominance variables quite accurately. This performance may further support the idea that these variables may be considered universal features.

7. Forms of address were far more used by the P1 speakers than by the E1 speakers, which seems to be due to cultural differences. The E2 learners also used address forms more often than the E1 speakers. The address forms used by the E2 speakers were very similar to the very few that were used by the English native speakers, except for the pragmatic transfers of the nouns ['teacher'/'lady'] which were used as forms of address by the

English learners.

8. The analysis of intensification yielded interesting findings, especially in the Portuguese (P1) data, which presented a wide range of intensifiers. The E2 learners did intensify their apologies by using internal modifications such as [Every] and [really], by using exclamations such as [Oh] and [Oh, my God], and also by using double IFIDs more often than the E1 speakers.

3.9.2 *E1 and P1 archetypal apology strategies*

The archetype for each situation indicates the variables **social distance and social dominance**, and gives one example for each language. The criterion used was preference of choice. The E2 choices are also given with the purpose of enabling EFL teachers to pinpoint their learners' deviations.

E1 and P1 archetype of apology strategies

Situation 1(seminar paper) Social Distance: - Status: S > H;

E1 - I'm sorry (IFID), I didn't finish reading your paper (ES)

P1 - Não consegui ler seu trabalho a tempo de devolvê-lo (ES).

E2 - *I didn't finish to read your term paper (ES). I'm sorry (IFID), but if you are interested, I can do it after the class (OR).*

Situation 2(manager) Social Distance: + Status: S > H

E1 - I'm sorry (IFID), I had an unexpected meeting (ES).

P1 - Desculpe (IFID), mas eu tive um compromisso inesperado (ES).

E2 - *I'm sorry (IFID) but I had a problem with another student (ES). Let's start our interview (DO).*

Situation 3(waiter) Social Distance: + Status: S < H

E1 - I'm [very/terribly] sorry (IFID), I'll bring your order right away (OR).

P1 - Perdoe-me (IFID) Senhor. Providenciarei seu pedido em instantes (OR).

E2 - *I'm sorry (IFID) sir, I'll bring what you ordered in one minute (OR). It was my mistake (AR).*

Situation 4(book) Social Distance: - Status: S < H

E1 - I'm [very/so] sorry (IFID), I forgot your book (ES). I'll go home and get it after class (OR).

P1 - Esqueci de trazer o seu livro (ES) mas se o senhor precisar posso ir buscá-lo (OR).

E2 - *I'm sorry (IFID), but I forgot it at home (ES), but I can bring it later (OR).*

Situation 5(driver) Social Distance: + Status: S = H

E1 - Sorry (IFID), here's my name, my insurance company will pay for the damage (OR).

P1 - Foi distração minha (AR), eu vou pagar os prejuízos (OR).

E2 - *Here's my phone, I'll pay everything (OR). I'm sorry (IFID) but I didn't see your car (ES).*

Situation 6(lady) Social Distance: + Status: S = H

E1 - I'm [so] sorry! (IFID) Are you alright? (CH)

P1 - Me desculpe, senhora (IFID), eu perdi o equilíbrio (AR). Esses motoristas são uns loucos! (DO)

E2 - *I'm sorry (IFID). Are you hurt? (CH) Let me help you (OR)!*

Situation 7(fellow worker) Social Distance: - Status: S = H

E1 - I didn't mean to offend you (AR/lack of intent).

P1 - Desculpe (IFID)

E2 - *I was wrong (AR). I'm sorry (IFID).*

Situation 8(classmate) Social Distance: - Status: S = H

E1 - Sorry (IFID).

P1 - Me desculpe (IFID) outra vez.

EE - *Sorry (IFID) but I missed the bus (ES) and couldn't get earlier (AR).*

This research confirms previous studies that claim that apologetic strategies are universal but their use is language specific (Blum-Kulka 1984, Olshtain & Cohen 1983, Wolfson 1989). The choice of one strategy from a range of several available ones seems to be closely related to the way the offence is perceived by the apologisee, which in turn depends on the sociocultural factors pointed out in this survey.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TREATMENT OF APOLOGIES IN EFL TEXTBOOKS

Since the early 1970s, with the shift of emphasis from grammatical to communicative competence, language learners have been considered communicatively competent language users if they know 'how to make appropriate choices in register and style to fit the particular situation in which communication occurs' (Omaggio 1986:5). However, EFL learners in Brazil rarely have the opportunity to listen to the target language outside their classroom environment, and have even fewer opportunities to interact with native speakers of English. In order to develop foreign learners' conversational competence, the easiest available aids for most Brazilian teachers are EFL textbooks.

Textbooks, in general, succeed in explaining grammatical issues of the target language; however, they usually fail to provide learners with the information they need to interact in a spontaneous setting.

In the light of these considerations, the following section will take the textbooks used at the Extracurricular Courses at UFSC as a sample to discuss the authenticity of EFL textbooks presentation of apologies to intermediate and advanced learners in regard to: how this speech act is presented (the most common formula); the range of situations in which it is used, in order

to see whether the social variables (distance and status) and the personal variables (sex and age) are dealt with and/or mentioned. Only situations that call for an apology will be commented on.

4.1 EFL textbooks

Strategies Series	level
a.Starting Strategies	English I, II
b.Building Strategies	English III, IV
c.Developing Strategies	English V, VI
d.Studying Strategies	English VII
. Longman Preparation Course for the TOEFL	TOEFL
. English for Cambridge Proficiency	Proficiency
. Progress to First Certificate	Lower

4.1.1 Strategies Series

In the cited apologetic situations found in the textbooks, the indication of the strategies used that appears in parentheses is given by this researcher and follows the framework adopted in the study.

a. Starting Strategies - One dialog including an expression of regret (ER) was found, in which the participants are friends (less social distance) of equal status:

Maria -...Would you like a cup of tea?

Neville - Mmm! Yes, please.

""

Maria - Mind the cup!

Neville - Oh, sorry! (exclamation + ER)

Maria - That's all right! I'll get a cloth.(p.60)

In addition, this book has a section called *Remember, in* which the function aimed at and the expression to be used appear:
 function - apologise, expression - Sorry!(p.66)

b. Building Strategies - Two dialogs including an expression of regret were found, and both involve friends of equal status and less social distance:

1. Barbara: Er... are you busy?
 Rod: Well, yes, actually. I'm just having a shower.
 Barbara: ~~Oh, sorry.~~ I'll ring back later.(p.56)
 (excl + ER + OR)
2. Barbara: Rod! What a surprise! It's lovely to see you again.
 Rod: ~~Sorry I didn't telephone you before you left, but I didn't have time.~~ in fact... (p.85)
 (ER + AR + ES)

The goal of unit 12, in which dialog 2 was found, is: 'give apologies and explanations'(in Table of Contents). In the same unit, an oral exercise with six situations on apologising is given (p.91)

3.

- . You didn't have time to send your friend a postcard (S=H; acquaintances);
- . You forgot to telephone your friend (S=H; acquaintances);
- . You overslept and missed the bus. Apologise to your boss (S < H; acquaintances);
- . Your watch was slow and you were late for work. Apologise to your boss (S < H; acquaintances)
- . You were ill last week, so you didn't come to classes. Apologise to your teacher (S < H; acquaintances)
- . You didn't know the time of the train, so you didn't meet your sister at the station (S=H; intimate)

Although the book presents a range of situations with participants of different social status ($S = H$, $S < H$), it provides just one pattern: *Sorry...*, but *I...* to be used regardless of status, social distance (intimates, acquaintances), sex or age of interactants.

At the end of the unit, a section called *Check* is given with the language function aimed at and the expression to be used: 'give apologies and explanations: Sorry I didn't phone you, but I forgot' (p. 94).

c. Developing Strategies - Four dialogs containing expressions of regret were found. All of them involve acquaintances; however, two dialogs involve interactants of equal status (1 and 2) and two dialogs involve S of a lower status than H (3 and 4):

Example 1 Sandy - Hi! Sorry. I'm so late. We had a meeting at work. Oh, it's all so awful there now! (p.54)
(greeting + ER + intens. + ES + excl. + DO)

Example 2 Carol - Hi!
Dave - I'm sorry. I didn't phone you earlier but I had an extra class (p.72)
(ER + AR + ES)

Example 3 Stella - Frankly Sandra, I'm not very pleased with you ... I can't honestly recommend somebody for promotion who doesn't take an active interest in their work. You can see that, can't you Sandra?
Sandy - Er...yes I can and I'm sorry. I thought I was doing my best. (p.64)
(ER + AR/lack of intent)

Example 4 Dave - I'm sorry, Mike (p.94) (ER + address form)

The authors also include an exercise 'apologising for faults', in which the students should respond to a request such as *Can I use your hairdryer?* , and they are also told to 'apologise' by using the pattern *I'm afraid it's ...* .

d. Studying Strategies - Two letters including an expression of apology and an expression of regret were found (1 and 2). In (1), information about the interactants' intimate level of familiarity is to be inferred from 'much love' or 'Joannie'. In addition, a dialog with an expression of regret and similar to S3(waiter) of the survey was also found(3). The situation also involves S of a lower status than H, the difference being that in this context, S is a waitress.

Example 1 Dear Sarah,
 I apologise for not writing earlier but
 Much love,
 (DA + ES) Joannie (p.32)

Example 2 Dear Jock,
 ... I'm afraid I won't be able to come to the
 meeting on Tuesday. I'm very sorry I couldn't let
 you know earlier.
 Yours,
 Heather (p.33) (ES + ER + AR)

Example 3 Mike - Oh, excuse me. I think there seems to be
 some mistake. We've been charged for two
 ice cream sodas but we only had coffee.
 Girl - Oh, you have? I'm sorry, sir. I'll make
 out a new check.
 Mike - Thanks. (p.09)
 (ER + address form + OR)

There is also a section called *Useful Phrases for Meetings*, which includes the pattern *Sorry to interrupt but...*, out of context (p.107).

4.1.2 Longman Preparation Course for the TOEFL

No apologetic formulas were found throughout this textbook, which is intended to prepare students for the Test of English as a Foreign Language - the TOEFL. The author, however, says this preparation program 'gives students the skills, strategies, practice, and confidence they need to increase their scores on this important exam.' (Phillips 1989).

4.1.3 English for Cambridge Proficiency

Only one dialog including an expression of regret was found. The interactants are the Personnel Manager (S) of a company and the Managing Director (H), (S < H ; acquaintances):

Personnel Manager - I'm sorry, sir, I was only trying to
work out. (p.43)
(ER + address form + ES)

This book also has a section called *Use of English*, in which students are told how to convert exclamations/expressions into indirect speech. One sentence given is:

'I'm terribly sorry I couldn't get to the meeting'.

The form He apologised for being unable to attend the meeting is given as a pattern.

Of major interest, a dialog with a situation that apparently calls for an apology was found; however, no explicit apology was given. The whole dialog is reproduced below:

Mr Barnes - These invoices_____ checking. They're full of mistakes.
 Mr Hall - Yes, of course, Mr Barnes, I _____ checked right away.
 Mr Barnes - But, surely, you ought to_____checked by a senior member of staff before you brought them to me.
 Mr Hall - Well, actually, Mr Hobson, the Chief Clerk, is on holiday, so I had to_____ done by young Roberts. He did his best, I'm sure, but if you ask me, the whole of that department_____re-organising. They're terribly short of staff.
 Mr Barnes - That's no excuse for careless work. We have our reputation to consider... (p.133)

No comments are made on the reason why Mr Hall did not apologise explicitly, and went on trying to justify the mistakes on and on. It is important to mention that this dialog is a grammar exercise and students are supposed to fill in the blanks with need or have, which does not invalidate the chance to illustrate pragmatic aspects of language.

4.1.4 Progress to First Certificate

Expression of regret was found in one letter. It gives a description of the situation so that the students can see the level of familiarity between interactants.

Jan is writing to a friend from abroad who is coming to stay for a few days and needs to be told how to get from ... to ...:

Dear Alex,

Sorry I won't be able to meet you. Here is a quick note on how to get... (ER + AR + OR) (p.58)

Three other isolated sentences in exercises dealing with the use of English which include apologetic formulas were found:

(1) 'Sorry about the mistake. I _____ the instructions you gave me.' (p.37) (ER + ES)

(2) 'Dick apologised _____ not sending us a thank you letter.' (p.59)
(OA + ES)

(3) 'Sorry to keep you waiting. I've finished _____' (p.95)
(ER + ES)

4.1.5 Comments

Since the use of apologetic formulas in the seven EFL textbooks analysed was very much alike, this section will list the most common findings:

a. *Expressions of regret* '(be) sorry' are the ones that mostly appear in the textbooks. The *expression of apology* 'I apologise' seldom appears. The use of the formula (be) sorry in the EFL textbooks analysed corroborates the results of this survey, which show that the *expressions of regret* were more used than the other

IFID formulas;

b. Where the apologetic formulas are presented, they are not accompanied either by additional explanations of their function in the ongoing context or by possible apologetic formulas that could be used instead;

c. The textbooks analysed include the social distance variable when presenting dialogs with intimate (brother/sister) and acquaintance (student/teacher) level of familiarity between interactants. Situations involving strangers are not dealt with.

d. Social status is also taken into account in the dialogs, except for the relation in which S is of a higher status than H, which is not found in any of the textbooks analysed. Furthermore, no information with the aim of making the students aware that if one of the variables changes, the apology may be different (cf. example b.3, on page 87);

d. The request for forgiveness *Excuse me* only appears in the books analysed as a polite expression for calling someone's attention. No observation about its use as an apologetic formula in American English is provided by the textbooks analysed;

e. Some of the apologetic formulas are either presented out of context (with the emphasis on grammar) or in a context where no information about level of familiarity between interactants or power relation is given;

g. One case of the formula *I'm afraid* as an apology appears in an

oral exercise on 'Apologising for faults', with no further explanation or observation to differentiate this formula from other apologetic formulas, for example:

Can I use your hairdryer?

I'm afraid it is broken (Developing strategies p.117)

Owen (1980:88-92) provides an explanation for the use of *I'm afraid* to express an apology. She says that when this formula is followed by a full complement clause, its primary function is to inform that an offence has occurred as well as to express regret and thus 'some remedial effect may be achieved' (ibid:89).

In the two following sections, the apology formulas presented in the textbooks will be compared first with those used by the learners' (E2), then with the formulas used by E1 speakers in two situations S3(waiter) and S8(classmate).

4.2 *The English learners' most common formulas*

It was observed that the English learners (E2) used expressions of regret *I'm sorry/sorry* very often, which is the most common form of apology used by the E1 speakers and it is also the one that most appears in the textbooks analysed. Although E2 speakers were found to have used the substrategy

request for forgiveness *Excuse me* as an apology, this formula is found in the **Strategies Series** as a polite expression to call someone's attention. This observation suggests that the learners might have been exposed to this formula as an apologetic formula somewhere else other than in their present EFL textbooks.

4.3 The American speakers' and the textbook formulas in two speech situations

In order to examine the formulas presented in the textbooks in terms of their closeness to the elicited apologies, a comparison will now be made between them and the apologetic formulas used in situations S3 and S8 by the E1 speakers. These two situations were chosen because of their similarity to the textbook situation

a. S3: mixing up the customer's order;

Studying Strategies: bringing the bill with a wrong total;

It was found that the most common pattern the E1 speakers used to redress S3 was IFID followed by OR and the same pattern is found in the EFL textbook. Although the same pattern is given, there is no explanation why such a pattern is used and why the waitress does not explain the mix up (as P1 and E2 tried to do) but rather repairs for it. This should be pointed out as a different cultural routine which governs different societies.

b. SB:arriving late for a meeting with a classmate;

Developing Strategies: arriving late for a meeting with a friend;

It was found that the four most common strategies used by the E1 speakers in a decreasing scale (Table 1) was IFID + AR (acknowledgment of responsibility) + OR (offer of repair) + DO (distracting from the offence). In the textbook, there is a situation in which Sandy arrives late at Richard's house. She had agreed to look after his son for him. As soon as Richard greets her and says: 'I thought you'd never come!' she immediately expresses regret, acknowledges for her fault and gives an explanation. She then distracts from the offence by changing the topic to comment about problems at her work (IFID + AR + ES + DO) (eg.ci). It can be observed that the repair E1 speakers offered in the similar situation is not offered in the dialog, the textbook gives an explanation instead.

It is also worth commenting that the books *Starting Strategies* (p.66), *Building Strategies* (p.94), *Developing Strategies* (p.117) and *Studying Strategies* (p.107) teach how to apologise by giving students the pattern ER(expression of regret) + ES(explanation of the situation) regardless of the different variables included in the dialogs. All the other strategies that might count as an apology or might ratify it are not mentioned.

As a last observation, there is the discrepancy between the high use of intensifiers by E1 speakers in comparison with its rare use in the textbooks. This may be a difference between American and British English. The rare use of intensification in the British textbooks suggests that the issue of speech act intensification across cultures deserves further investigation.

In the following section, some criticism of the EFL textbooks is made concerning sociocultural aspects.

4.4 Sociocultural aspects in the EFL textbooks

The EFL textbooks analysed are far from coping with sociocultural reality with respect to the speech act of apologising. Although they sometimes include social and personal variables, attention is not called to the different degrees of seriousness of the offence nor to the influence the different variables (sex, age, social distance, social status) have on the choice of different types of apologies. Furthermore, no attention is called to the different use of intensification.

It is generally agreed (Pica 1983, Judd 1983, Wolfson 1989, Bardovi-Harlig et al 1991, etc) that EFL materials should include sociolinguistic reality, avoiding thus, unrealistic or artificial models which certainly defeat the goal of communicative competence. In the case of apologies, it has been extensively argued that it is a basic speech act in daily routine.

Consequently, efforts should be made to incorporate the cultural differences and different language realizations, concerning the act of apologising, into teaching materials.

Frozen formulas will not help students acquire either the meaning of a specific formula or its role in a given context. As a consequence, the students will not be able to draw any conclusions or make generalizations about the social rules underlying the use of these formulas in the particular dialogs in which they are inserted. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) offer an interesting account for the reason why EFL textbooks operate on the linguistic level of the target language. They say that it is because EFL textbooks are not able to deal with all the subtleties in the target language. In the case of apologies, the subtleties are all the possible strategies and substrategies that may directly or indirectly express an apology depending on the factors already discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS FOR EFL TEACHING AND SUGGESTIONS

This last chapter comprises four sections: the first presents the kind of implications the results arrived at may have for the teaching of English as a foreign language. The second brings the contribution given by the authors of an ESL textbook. The third contains suggestions for further research, and the last one lists the major conclusions of the research.

5.1 Implications for the teaching of English as a foreign language

The major concern that underlies this survey is what should be done to increase the learners' sociolinguistic awareness of the target language and help them become not only linguistically but also pragmatically competent.

It is agreed that social competence is difficult to achieve, especially for foreign language learners who are limited to the English practiced in the classroom. According to several researchers, learners may be proficient in grammar and vocabulary, although they still fail to communicate effectively because they do not know the social norms of the target language (Holmes 1990, Wolfson 1989, Blum-Kulka 1982). According to Blum-Kulka (1982:35) 'learners' deviations from native usage of

speech acts, for instance, might violate social appropriateness norms in the target language on many dimensions'. For example, the match between degree of the offence and the form of the apology: a more serious offence may call for an *expression of regret* intensified by an adverbial such as [I'm terribly sorry] (high intensity), as opposed to a minor offence [I am sorry] (low intensity). The intensification of the apology also depends on the variables of sex, age, level of familiarity and status of the interactants.

It is definitely not enough to know how to say *I'm sorry* or *I apologise*. Knowing how to say these formulaic expressions, which are 'a combination of words, that have become associated in everyone's mind and are often repeated in sequence' (Tannen & Oztek, 1981:37), does not ensure success in speaking English as a native speaker. Bardovi-Harlig et al (1991:13) claim that

teaching pragmatics empowers students to experience and experiment with the language at a deeper level, and thereby to participate in the purpose of language communication, rather than just words.

The several studies conducted on speech acts (for example, Manes & Wolfson 1981 on complimenting; Beebe 1985 on refusals; Luna 1990 on requests, etc) are a reliable source of description of native speakers' performance, which can definitely help teachers in their goal to make the learners achieve communicative

competence. In the case of apologies, by comparing native speakers' data with their own, English learners would have more chances to discuss why a certain apology sounds rude, for instance. The comparison of data might suggest that one context calls for a brief apology whereas another calls for an extended one. The same holds true for a certain combination of apology strategies that may be appropriate in one context but not in another.

Bardovi-Harlig et al (1991) suggest motivating learners to discuss how the speech act focused on is used in their native language. By so doing, the authors believe learners will have a basis for the comparison, which may facilitate the development of their sociocultural competence in L2 as well as their understanding of their own mother tongue. McGroarty & Galvan (1985:89) say that 'culture asides should be spontaneous responses to cross-cultural items that arise in the classroom'; they suggest that teachers should interrupt the lesson for a moment to comment on the cross-cultural meaning of what students usually say.

Sociocultural competence, as already mentioned, refers to S's ability to determine the pragmatic appropriateness of a particular speech act in a given context. In the case of apologies, it is the learner's ability to perceive especially the degree of formality, and the seriousness of the offence

among other variables, and to be able to choose a grammatically acceptable form.

By getting to know the sociocultural norms of interaction in the target language, learners will then be expected to know not only how to say the formulaic expressions *I'm sorry* or *I apologise*, but also in which situation and to whom they should use them. Therefore, it seems advisable to incorporate the most common linguistic forms of the apology speech act set in the initial part of the teaching syllabus. The remaining formulas, the indirect strategies and substrategies should, then, be introduced gradually.

Olshtain & Cohen (1983) suggest a 'spiral' organization of the syllabus, that is, the apology situations to be introduced should be appropriate for the stage the learners are at, and reintroduced throughout the entire course. Krashen (1982) suggests, in his input hypothesis, that learners should move from stage i (i =current knowledge) to $i+1$ (the following level), which is a 'little beyond' the level at which they actually are. For the expression of apologies, (i) would be the basic formulaic expressions, and ($i+$) could stand for the indirect strategies and substrategies in real contexts, or the subtleties of apology use Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) refer to.

Different speech events such as interviews, debates, speeches, etc call for different apologies, and should also be

introduced to students. It is the teacher who has to decide which situation a particular group of learners is more likely to face, in order to make up a relevant tentative list of apology situations suitable for the learner's linguistic and pragmatic development. Leading learners to make their own choices in an appropriate way should be the language teachers' ultimate goal.

Incorporating sociocultural competence into the teaching syllabus was firstly suggested by Wilkings (1976) and further discussed by Widdowson (1989), Bardovi-Harlig et al (1991) and many others. Bardovi-Harlig et al (ibid:05) present four steps through which the teacher can incorporate pragmatically appropriate language into EFL classrooms: identification of the speech act, data collection, textbook evaluation and development of new materials:

1. Identification of the speech act can be achieved either through observation of the learners' conversational needs or by having them list their major difficulties and interests with regard to the aspect of the language being studied;
2. Data collection can be done through role-playing activities to compare what students say they do with what they actually do while acting out, and also with native speakers' utterances, if possible;
3. textbook evaluation, to see how the speech acts found in the

textbook are presented, that is, how close to reality they are;

4. Developing new materials can be achieved through pairwork, for instance, by having learners modify existing dialogs and even create new and more adequate dialogs.

5.2 An ESL model: a contribution to EFL teaching of apologies

Another interesting contribution to help teachers bring their teaching closer to reality is Reinhart and Fisher's (1985) ESL textbook **Speaking and Social Interaction**, which presents a teaching unit that is divided into six parts. The book is for intermediate level students and it directly compares the formula *Excuse me* and *I'm sorry*. The authors believe students at this level still have not learned how to use these two expressions appropriately and can benefit from generalizations about their use in social situations. First, they present warm up questions such as: 'What are some ways of getting a person's attention in your country and in the USA?'. Then, they present six sets with three brief dialogs each to be analysed, followed by questions for discussion whose goal is to get the students to explain with their own words the role of this formula in each dialog. Following the discussion, there is a section called *Points to Remember*, in which the simplified rule concerning the use of the formulaic expressions *I'm sorry/Excuse me* in the context introduced is summarized. The following are examples

taken from the book of how the whole activity is carried out:

1.(p.38/39)

Dialog:

Situation - Linda is at a party. She accidentally hits a glass of wine with her arm and it falls on the floor. The hostess, Nancy, comes to help her clean it up.

Linda - I'm really sorry, Nancy.

Nancy - Don't worry about it. Here, let me help you clean it up.

Questions for Discussion:

. Why did Linda use the expression I'm sorry? Why did she use really ?.

Points to remember:

1. We usually use [I'm sorry] when we think we have hurt or offended someone, for example, when we forget something, when we are late, when we spill a drink, when we recognize we have insulted someone, or when we may have hurt someone physically or emotionally;
2. This expression tends to show a sincere concern for a person's feelings.

2.(p.36/37)

Dialog:

Situation - Frank and Joanne work together in a shoe store. Frank is helping a shopper try on a pair of shoes. Joanne comes to ask Frank a question.

Frank (to shopper) - We have that shoe in white and yellow.

Joanne - Excuse me, Frank do you know the price of these brown sandals?

Frank - They're \$26.

Questions for discussion: Why did Joanne use the formal formula

Excuse me with her colleague? Do shop assistants do the same in your country?

Points to Remember:

1. We commonly use the expression [Excuse me] in English when we (1) try to get someone's attention, (2) leave a conversation before it is finished, (3) ask someone to move or when walking in front of someone, (4) interrupt someone.
2. Excuse me is commonly used in formal situations or when the speakers do not know each other well.

The authors do not provide any examples with this formula as an apology. They admit that although the suggested unit is useful it is not enough. They go on to suggest that teachers need to first understand the generalizations underlying the appropriate use of the expression, and second, be able to point out to the students how such generalizations apply to the use of these expressions in a specific social situation. Reinhart and Fisher's contribution seems to be an attempt to sensitize students and teachers to the use of these expressions in actual social interactions. These suggestions do not of course exhaust the numerous ways of developing pragmatic awareness.

5.3 *Suggestions for further research*

This section presents briefly several relevant topics that are not developed in the dissertation but which might be taken up in future research. It is believed that the following ideas would certainly contribute to the acquisition of language learners' communicative competence:

a. Spontaneous data gathering - Although being extremely time consuming, data gathering of how apologies are used spontaneously in order to be compared with the elicited situations in which they are called for would help sociolinguists, textbook writers, syllabus designers, and language teachers point out cultural differences that might lead students to pragmatic failures and miscommunication.

b. Error analysis - Analysis of the English learners' errors would be a revealing and rich area of investigation since the learners' errors range from linguistic ones to pragmatic transfers. In addition, this kind of awareness would also help the learners to identify pragmatic differences between L1 and L2.

c. Age groups - An investigation into how native speakers of different age groups apologise might bring about different results from the ones obtained in this research. It is probable

that younger as well as older subjects than the ones analysed have different social parameters when interpreting the seriousness of an offence and how to make up for it.

d. Politeness markers - It seems that very little has been done on politeness markers in both languages, not only to define the concept of politeness but how to measure politeness in several situations taking into account social and personal variables.

e. Seriousness of the offence - Research to determine (1) how severe a particular offence is perceived to be by native speakers of English and of Portuguese, and (2) H's expectations (high/low) of receiving an apology made by S - would certainly enrich the literature already available.

f. Syntactic patterns - Studies on syntactic-semantic patterns used with apologies in both languages should be carried out. For instance, patterns such as *I'm sorry for/to/about/if/that* and *Desculpas por/se/a respeito do que/ pelo(a)* were very often used by the native respondents.

g. Intimate level of familiarity - The situations that elicited the data for the survey did not include intimate interactants. It is an important aspect to be investigated. A range of different

apology situations can be found in Olshtain (1983), Holmes (1990), Olshtain and Cohen (1983).

h. Use of IFIDs - Although the expressions *I'm sorry*, *Excuse me*, *Forgive me* and *I apologise* function similarly, they are basically different. It would be interesting to investigate whether native speakers perceive the differences and what criteria they have for choosing one formula rather than another.

All the suggestions listed above are undoubtedly challenging and fruitful areas for further investigation.

CONCLUSION

The present study has applied the apology speech act set employed by the CCSARP project to investigate the cultural differences that affect the performance of this speech act by learners of English. The CCSARP framework proved to be effective for the comparison of apologies across the two languages investigated as well as to reveal non-native deviations.

The findings prove that there are cultural preferences as well as intralingual differences in the choice of apology strategies to make up for the offence. It may be that native speakers of both languages choose apology strategies on the basis of their culturally influenced perception of the degree of the offence, social status of interactants, and social distance between apologisee and apologisee, so that the native speakers in either language usually chose different strategies to make up for the offence.

When considering the personal variable of sex, it is observed that male speakers in all the three groups address the apologisee more often than the female speakers. When intensifying the apology, the E1 female speakers are found to use adverbials [terribly, so, very] more often than the E1 male speakers. Significant sex differences in intensifying an apology are not found in the P1 data.

The study has also looked at the learners' (E2) deviations. Although the learners at intermediate and advanced levels had fewer linguistic errors, they tended to transfer cultural features from L1 to L2. The tendency to transfer from L1 to L2 may decrease with the learners' perception of the foreign language specificities, or, in other words, their awareness of what is acceptable in each language may increase. Apology strategies are non-language specific, they are universal; however, the realization and combination of strategies are language specific, as the results obtained in this research indicate. In sum, it seems that language universals may induce language learners to transfer from L1 to L2.

EFL textbook writers should provide sociolinguistic information in their materials. When this information is not found in the textbooks adopted, the teachers should fill up the gap so as to move artificial classroom environments a bit closer to sociolinguistic reality, in this way developing the learners' awareness not only of the target language but also of their own mother tongue.

Finally, as suggested throughout this study more research with larger corpora would certainly add to a better understanding of the speech act of apologising both in American English and in Brazilian Portuguese - for the benefit of EFL teaching and learning.

A P P E N D I X I

Please read carefully each of the following four situations listed below. Playing the role of the person underlined, use the blanks to write what you would say if you were interacting in a real conversation.

S1. A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR promised to return a student's term paper that day but didn't finish reading it.

University professor:

S2. A STAFF MANAGER has kept a student waiting for half an hour for a job interview because he was called to an unexpected meeting.

Staff manager:

S3. A WAITER in an expensive restaurant brings fried chicken instead of *boeuf a la maison* to a surprised customer.

Waiter:

S5. A DRIVER in a parking lot backs his car into another driver's car.

Driver:

A P P E N D I X II

Por gentileza, leia atentamente, as seguintes situações abaixo, e escreva o que você diria, de forma direta, se estivesse interagindo em uma situação real. Assuma o papel da pessoa sublinhada em cada diálogo.

S1 Um professor universitário promete devolver um trabalho final de um aluno, mas não consegue acabar de lê-lo a tempo.

PROFESSOR UNIVERSITÁRIO:

S2 Um Coordenador de Curso deixa um aluno esperando por meia-hora para uma entrevista sobre uma possível vaga de emprego, pelo fato de ter sido chamado para uma reunião inesperada.

COORDENADOR DE CURSO:

S3 Um garçom, num restaurante requintado, serve frango frito ao invés de *filet de peixe ao molho de alcaparras*, a um cliente que fica surpreso com o equívoco.

GARÇOM:

S5 Um motorista, ao dar marcha ré em seu carro, bate em um carro que está estacionado logo atrás, com o respectivo motorista dentro.

MOTORISTA RESPONSÁVEL:

A P P E N D I X I I I

Please read carefully each of the following four situations listed below. Use the blanks to write what you would say if you were interacting in a real conversation.

S4.YOU borrowed your professor's book, which you promised to return that day, but forgot to bring it along.

You

S6.YOU have placed your shopping bag on the luggage rack of a crowded bus. When the bus brakes, the bag falls down and hits a lady.

You

S7.YOU offended a fellow worker during a discussion at work. After the discussion, you mention this fact to your fellow worker.

You

S8.As usual, YOU are late again for a meeting with a friend with whom you are working on a joint paper.

You

A P P E N D I X IV

Por gentileza, leia atentamente as seguintes situações abaixo, e escreva o que você diria, de forma direta, se estivesse interagindo em uma situação real. Assuma o papel da pessoa sublinhada em cada diálogo.

S1 Você pede emprestado um livro do seu professor, e promete devolvê-lo em um determinado dia, mas no dia combinado, você esquece de trazê-lo.

VOCÊ:

S6 Você entra em um ônibus cheio, com uma sacola de compras. O motorista freia bruscamente e sua sacola cai em cima de uma senhora.

VOCÊ:

S7 Você ofende um colega de trabalho durante uma reunião. Ao final da mesma, seu colega se mostra ofendido com o acontecido.

VOCÊ:

S8 Como sempre, você está atrasado para um encontro com um amigo com o qual você está fazendo um trabalho final de uma disciplina.

VOCÊ:

A P P E N D I X V

Original Apology Situations

S1. A university professor promised to return the student's term paper that day but didn't finish reading it.

S2. A staff manager borrowed her professor's book, which she promised to return that day, but forgot to bring it.

S3. The waiter in an expensive restaurant brings fried chicken instead of *boeuf a la maison* to a surprised customer.

S4. A student borrowed her professor's book, which she promised to return that day, but forgot to bring it along.

S5. A driver in a parking lot backs into the hearer's car.

S6. The speaker has placed a shopping bag on the luggage rack of a crowded bus. When the bus brakes, the bag falls and hits another passenger.

S7. The speaker offended a fellow worker during a discussion at work. After the meeting, the fellow worker mentions this fact.

S8. A notoriously unpunctual student is late again for a meeting with a friend with whom she's working on a joint paper.

A P P E N D I X VI

Profile Sheet

E1 subjects

Sex:_____ AGE:_____

What is your major?

Were you born in the USA? _____Yes _____No

If not: In what country were you born? _____

How long have you been living in the USA? _____

Do you work? _____ Yes _____No What is your occupation? _____

P1 subjects

Sexo:_____ Idade:_____

Naturalidade: Cidade_____ Estado_____

Curso:_____

Você trabalha? SIM NÃO

Qual a sua função? _____

E2 subjects

Sex:_____ Age:_____

English level:_____

Have you ever traveled abroad? _____YES _____NO

Where to? _____

For how long? _____

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